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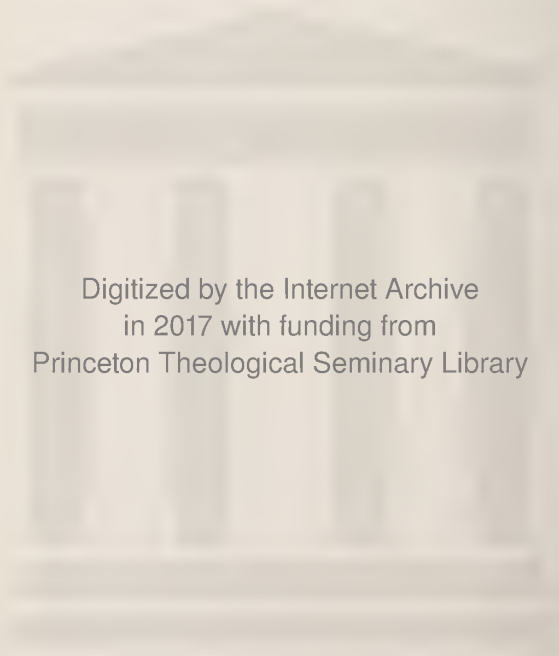
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RECORDS OF THE PAST



✓  
RECORDS OF THE PAST

BEING ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF EGYPT AND  
WESTERN ASIA

*NEW SERIES*

EDITED BY A. H. SAYCE

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD  
HON. LL.D. DUBLIN ; HON. D.D. EDINBURGH

VOL. VI



*Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una*

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## P R E F A C E

WITH the present volume the New Series of the *Records of the Past* comes to an end. The public seems to prefer books about the ancient inscriptions of the Oriental world rather than translations of the inscriptions themselves, and it would therefore be undesirable to continue to publish them. The curiosity excited by the first attempts at the decipherment of the Egyptian and Assyrian texts appears now to be satisfied, and even students of the Old Testament are contented to allow questions which bear directly on Biblical history and interpretation to be settled by the small but enthusiastic body of workers in the fields of Egyptian and Assyrian research.

And yet an interest in the old monuments of the civilised East is no longer confined to the nations of the west. Egyptians, as is fitting, have begun to examine for themselves the past records of their own country, and the last volume of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* contains a learned and valuable article by a Japanese Assyriologist (Mr. Le Gac) on one of the oldest Sumerian texts which the soil of Babylonia has bequeathed to us.

But whether the public remains interested or indifferent the work of discovery goes on. It is upon the students of the cuneiform texts more especially that new facts are crowding year by year. In the present volume will be found translations of a new series of cuneiform documents which reveal the existence of an Assyrian dialect in the highlands of eastern Asia Minor in the age of the Hebrew exodus. It is only ten years ago that the sagacity of Mr. Pinches discovered that such documents existed at all, and it is only now that their decipherment has become possible.

In my Address to the Assyriological Section of the Oriental Congress of 1892 I drew attention to the light which Assyrian research is beginning to throw even upon later Greek history. Among the astronomical tablets of the Seleukid period which have been copied and published by Dr. Strassmaier is one which is dated in "the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleucus the kings," that is to say, in 275 B.C. In the previous year it is stated that the king collected his troops and marched to the country of 'Sapardu, the Sepharad of Obadiah 20, which a comparison of the account with what we learn from Greek writers would show to have corresponded with the Bithynia and Galatia of classical geography. It seems that Antiochus left a garrison there, in order to face the Egyptian army at the ford of the river Rûdu. The Egyptian army, however, crossed the stream. A few days later the *mumahir*, or "governor,"

of Babylonia forwarded silver, furniture, and girls from Babylonia and Seleukia, "the royal city," as well as "20 elephants which the governor of Baktria (*Bakhtar*) had sent to the king," to meet the king "at the ford of the river." The royal body-guard was left in Babylonia "from the beginning to the end of the month." During the same year taxes were raised in Babylon and the other cities of the kingdom for the payment of "the Greek loan,"<sup>1</sup> and there was much sickness in the country.

The first event which marked the beginning of the new year was the return of "the governor of Babylonia and the royal body-guard, which had gone to 'Sapardu to meet the king the previous year, to Seleukia, the royal city, which lies upon the Tigris." On the twelfth day of the month the inhabitants of Babylon were transported to the new city of Seleukia, and the people of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha provided oxen, sheep, and other things, while a royal palace was built at Seleukia. Bricks were also made above and below Babylon in order to build a temple, apparently in the same city. The temple was called Ê-Saggil, like the ancient temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, which had been destroyed by the Persian kings. Mention is further made of "Lumusu the brother of King Seleucus."

All these facts are new, and are welcome additions to our knowledge of the history of Macedonian Syria. Even the date of the foundation of Seleukia

<sup>1</sup> *Ana pi zîpi sa mat Yavannu.* *Zîpi* is the Talmudic *zûph*.

has not hitherto been known with certainty, much less the fact that its population was brought from Babylon. It is clear that a determined effort was made by the new dynasty to destroy the memory of the ancient glory and supremacy of Babylon, and to replace it by a new capital.

Equally unknown were the details of the war which Antiochus carried on in Asia Minor. All we knew was that he was engaged in a struggle, first of all with Nikomêdês of Bithynia and then with the Gauls in the early part of his réign (276, 275 B.C.). It was the defeat of the Gauls in Galatia in 275 B.C. which procured for the Syrian king the title of Sôtêr. Nor was the position of the Sepharad of Obadiah accurately determined. Certain reasons existed for placing it in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, but it is only now that we know it must have corresponded to the Bithynia and Galatia of the Greeks. We need, therefore, no longer hesitate about identifying it with the Persian satrapy of Sparda mentioned in the Akhæmenian inscriptions. At Behistun the name of Sparda immediately precedes that of Yaunâ or Ionia, and it is described as situated "by the sea," while at Naksh-i-Rustem it is enumerated between Kappadokia and Ionia. It will thus have represented central Asia Minor, more especially the district on the western bank of the Halys.

It will be remembered that in the texts relating to the last days of the Assyrian empire, which I have described and partially translated in the preface to the

fourth volume of this Series, reference is made to the 'Sapardâ, or people of 'Sapardu. They seem to have united with the Medes, the Minni, and the Kimmerians in attacking the tottering power of Nineveh, which was accordingly assailed by a league of all the nations of the north. We are irresistibly reminded of the description given by Ezekiel (xxxviii., xxxix.) of the army of Gog, as well as of the northern confederacy which is called upon to punish Babylon in the fifty-first chapter of Jeremiah. Though the prophecies in question may belong to a later date than that of the fall of the Assyrian empire the political situation they presuppose is the same as that which witnessed the overthrow of Nineveh.

A discovery made this summer by Mr. Strong goes to show that the movement of the northern and eastern nations which brought about the destruction of the Assyrian power had begun while Assur-bani-pal was still on the throne. In an inscription which appears to belong to the latter part of his reign he alludes to the successes of his army against the Manda chieftain Tuktamme, whom he calls "the offspring of Tiamat." So strong an expression—of which the nearest English equivalent would be "a limb of Satan"—proves better than any description how formidable the predecessor of Istuvegu or Astyages must have been. It is possible that in Tuktamme we have the original of the Hellenised Teutamos, who, according to Ktêsias, sent Memnon from Susa to the help of Priam of Troy.

Greek history, however, has not been the only gainer by the Assyriological discoveries of the present year. A discovery has been made which rivals in interest any that have ever taken place at any time in the history of Oriental archæology. Guided by the Assyriologist the excavator has put his spade into the soil of Palestine and found the first-fruits of a Canaanitish library which existed before Moses was born.

The name of Kirjath-Sepher, or "Book-town," coupled with certain other considerations, long ago led me to believe that libraries of cuneiform tablets, similar to those of Assyria and Babylonia, were to be discovered in Palestine. The discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna raised this belief almost to a certainty. Immediately after my first visit to southern Palestine in 1880 I urged the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund to excavate some of the *tels* which I had examined there, and which clearly contained the ruins of pre-Israelitish towns. But it was not until 1890 that the Fund was able to obtain the necessary firman, and to engage the services of Dr. Flinders Petrie in the work of exploration. Excavations were accordingly commenced at a *tel* or mound known as Tell el-Hesy, and during the short space of time Dr. Petrie was able to devote to the work results of wide-reaching importance were obtained. In the first place, he was able to show that Tell el-Hesy occupies the site of the Jewish fortress of Lachish, and in the second place, to found

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what may be termed the science of Palestinian chronology. With the help of the dated pottery he had discovered in Egypt he succeeded in arranging the ancient pottery of Palestine in a chronological sequence, so that we can now tell at a glance whether it belongs to the period of the Judges or of the Kings, to the pre-Israelitish period or to the age after the Exile. Furnished with this clue, Dr. Petrie pointed out that the lowermost portion of Tell el-Hesy represents the ruins of a city which was destroyed by the invading Israelites.

Here then we had found the remains of the Amorite city of Lachish, and though these remains were covered to a great height with the *débris* of the subsequent cities which rose one above the other upon the site, all that was needed for their systematic excavation were an excavator and the necessary funds. Mr. Bliss offered to continue Dr. Petrie's work, and after two seasons of unremitting labour his efforts have been crowned with success.

Admitting, as I did, the truth of Dr. Petrie's conclusions, I felt convinced that sooner or later we should find a collection of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters similar to those which have been found at Tel el-Amarna. Clay does not perish, except by the hand of man, and the Tel el-Amarna tablets had shown that an Egyptian governor resided in the Amorite city of Lachish who wrote, and therefore must have received, cuneiform despatches on clay. His name was Zimridi or Zimrida; and among

the Tel el-Amarna tablets now in Berlin<sup>1</sup> is a letter addressed by him to the Egyptian Pharaoh. The letters runs as follows :

“To the king my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, the Sun-god who is from heaven, thus (writes) Zimridi, the governor of the city of Lachish. Thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, the Sun-god from heaven, bows himself seven times seven. I have very diligently listened to the words of the messenger whom the king my lord has sent to me, and now I have despatched (a mission) according to his message.”

In one of the letters of Ebed-tob, King of Jerusalem, which I have translated in the last volume of the *Records of the Past* (p. 70, lines 43, 44), allusion is made to this Zimrida. It is there said that he had been murdered by the servants of the Egyptian king.

It was while Mr. Bliss was closing his work for the season, towards the beginning of last June, that his first discoveries were made in the Amorite stratum in the mound of Lachish. Egyptian beads and scarabs were brought to light which belonged to the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and on one of the beads is the name and title of Queen Teie, the wife of Amenôphis III. and the mother of Amenôphis IV., to whom the correspondence of Tel el-Amarna was addressed. At the same time there was also discovered a number of seal-cylinders, one of them

<sup>1</sup> *Mittheilungen aus dem orientalischen Sammlungen*, Pt. iii. No. 123.



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of Egyptian porcelain and manufacture, others importations from Babylonia, where they would have been made between 2000 and 1500 B.C., while others again are rude imitations of Babylonian models which resemble similar rude imitations found in the prehistoric tombs of Cyprus as well as in Syria. The date of the latter has now been fixed by Mr. Bliss's discovery.

The interest, however, attaching to the beads and cylinders is far exceeded by the last discovery of the season. A clay tablet was disinterred, similar in form and size to those found at Tel el-Amarna which had been sent to Egypt from southern Palestine. As the tablet itself was claimed by the Turkish commissioner, impressions and squeezes of it only were sent to me. These, however, have enabled me to make a fairly complete copy of the text. It turns out to be one of the letters which were received at Lachish and stored up in the archive-chamber of the city about the very time that Zimrida's letter to the Pharaoh was being written. The cuneiform characters used in it have the peculiar forms to which the tablets from southern Palestine discovered at Tel el-Amarna have now accustomed us; the formulæ and curious grammatical forms which it employs are the same as those of the letters from the south of Canaan, and above all, the name of the Egyptian governor of Lachish, Zimrida, is twice mentioned in it.

Nothing more extraordinary has ever happened in the annals of archæology. The discovery had

hardly been made that a governor of Lachish named Zimrida wrote letters in the Babylonian language and syllabary to his suzerain the Pharaoh of Egypt when the site of Lachish was identified by Dr. Petrie, and a letter similar to those of Zimrida was found by Mr. Bliss in which the name of Zimrida twice occurs. For more than 4000 years the broken halves of a correspondence that was carried on before the days of the Exodus had thus been lying under the soil, the one half on the banks of the Nile, the other half in Canaan ; and the recovery of the one from its long-continued oblivion was followed almost immediately by the recovery of the other.

Until the original text of the Lachish tablet can be examined it will be impossible to determine with certainty some of the characters on it that are either partly obliterated or else written on the edges of the tablet. Moreover, there are certain words in the text which appear for the first time, and of which, therefore, the interpretation is at present doubtful. In the following translation, therefore, which I offer of the inscription there are necessarily several lacunæ and notes of interrogation :—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is a transliteration of the text so far as I can make it out :—

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. [a-na ami]la raba ki-be-ma | 8. ik-ta-bi-mi                   |
| Ba-al (?) . . .               | 9. D.P. DI-TAR-AN-IM a-na        |
| 2. . . . . a-bi               | D.P. Zi-im-ri-da                 |
| 3. a-na sepâ-ka am-ku-ut      | 10. [a-]bi alu Ya-ra-mi          |
| 4. lu-u ti-i-di i-nu-ma       | 11. [is-]ta-par-mi a-na ya-a-si  |
| 5. tu-sa-tu-na D.P. Ba-du (?) | 12. [û id-]na-ni-mi              |
| 6. û D.P. Zi-im-ri-da         | 13. III (?) GIS KHIR û III se-du |
| 7. bu-wa-ri ali û             | 14. û III nam-za-ru-ta           |

“ To the officer say : I, Bal (?) . . . , [the son of Zimrida ?] my father, prostrate myself at thy feet. Verily thou knowest that Badu (?) and Zimrida the chiefs (?) of the city have gone forth (?), and Dan-Hadad says to Zimrida my father : The city of Yarami has sent to me [and] has given me 3 (?) pieces of wood and 3 slings and 3 falchions. If I remain over the country of the king and it acts against me and there is slaughter so that I die (*literally* until my death), in regard to thy . . . which I have . . . from the enemy . . . , and I have despatched Bel(?) -banila, and . . . rabi-ilu-yuma[khir] has sent his brother to this country to [strengthen it ?].”

The importance of this text lies rather in what it implies than in the statements it actually contains. It is clear that Mr. Bliss is at the entrance of the archive-chamber of the Amorite city of Lachish, and in a few months hence we may expect to have in our hands a Canaanitish library which existed before the Promised Land had been invaded by the tribes of Israel. Doubtless the contents of the library will consist mainly of letters and despatches, but the tablets found at Tel el-Amarna have taught us that they will also probably include mythological and

15. sum-ma mi a-na-ku  
 16. uts-ba-te-na eli mati  
 17. sa sarri û a-na ya-a-si  
 18. en-ni-ip-sa-at  
 19. û a-di mi-u-ti RU-mi  
 20. su-ut mu-ul(?) -ka  
 21. sa u-sa-at is-tu KUR

22. . . a bu (?) û us-si-ir  
 23. Bilu(?) -bani-la û  
 24. . . ra-bi-ilu-u-ma-[khir]  
 25. [is-ta-] par akha-su  
*Edge* : 1. a-na mata an-ni-tam  
 2. a-na [da-na-ni-sa ?]

even historical texts. Who knows, then, what revelations may not be in store for us? We are, as it were, about to dig up the sources of Genesis, and so settle many of those burning questions which at present divide the critics of the Pentateuch into hostile camps.

It may be that we shall also find among the archives of Lachish comparative dictionaries which will throw light on the ancient language or languages of Canaan. At all events the excavations of Dr. Flinders Petrie at Tel el-Amarna last winter have not only shown that the *fellahin* spoke the truth when they declared that the famous tablets had been found in the ruins of a building on the eastern side of the royal palace, but they have further brought to light fragments of other tablets, among which are veritable dictionaries. In one case the dictionary is of Semitic Babylonian and Sumerian, and as the Sumerian words are written phonetically as well as ideographically it would appear that Sumerian must still have been a living tongue.<sup>1</sup> In another case the Babylonian words are given in explanation of words belonging to two other languages, one of which Mr. Boscawen thinks is Old Egyptian.

When the fragments discovered by Dr. Petrie are published the whole of the Tel el-Amarna collection will at last be at the disposal of scholars. Even the

<sup>1</sup> One of the fragments explains the Babylonian *ri'sapu* and [*di*]kate, "a slaying," not only by the ideographs GAZ-GAZ, but also by the phonetically spelt *ga-az-ga-az*.

tablets contained in the British Museum have now been published, though the translations and explanations proposed for them by the editors leave much to be desired. In one instance the misinterpretation brings with it serious historical consequences, as it implies that Edom formed part of the Egyptian empire, whereas in reality the letter in question states explicitly that it did not. It is therefore advisable to give a correct translation of the text. The tablet is numbered 64.

“To Yankhame my lord say thus: I Mut-Hadad thy servant at the feet of my lord prostrate myself. Since Mut-Hadad has declared in thy presence that Ayab<sup>1</sup> has fled, and it is certified (?) that the king of Bitilim (Bethel) has fled from before the lyers-in-wait of the king his lord, let the king my lord live, let the king my lord live! If Ayab has been in this city of Bitilim for [the last] two months, I pray thee ask Ben-enima, ask . . . tadu, ask Isuya. Until after the arrival of the god Merodach the city of Astarti (Ashtaroth-Karnaim) has been assisted, because all the fortresses of the foreign land are hostile, namely, the cities of Udumu (Edom), Aduri (Addar), Araru, Mestu, Magdalim (Migdol), Khinianabi (Ên han-nabi), Zarki-tsabtat, Khaini, (and) Ibilimma (Abel). Again, after thou hadst sent a letter to me I sent

<sup>1</sup> Ayâb probably represents the Biblical name Job. It does not mean an “enemy” here, as the Editors of the British Museum volume imagine, since it is preceded by the determinative of individuality and is not provided with the vocalic termination of the nominative. The Beth-el mentioned is probably the famous city of that name on the borders of Benjamin and Ephraim, now *Beitîn*.

this (messenger) to him (*i.e.* Ayab) (to wait) until after thy arrival from thy journey, and he reached the city of Bitilim and heard the news.”

It is clear from this letter that whereas “the plateau of Bashan,” as it is elsewhere called, with its city of Ashtaroth (or rather Ashtoreth) Karnaim, was subject to Egypt, Edom and its fortified towns had maintained their independence.

If we turn from the western limit of Babylonian influence to the eastern frontier of Chaldæa we shall find that here too there have been archæological gains during the past year. Mr. de Morgan, whose appointment as Director of the Gizeh Museum will be gratifying to all friends of science, has succeeded in taking squeezes of the inscription of Ser-i-Pul, discovered many years ago by Sir Henry Rawlinson, as well as in discovering and copying another inscription near Sheikh-Khan, sixty-seven miles distant from the first. Ser-i-Pul is at the entrance to the Pass of Holwan, leading into the ancient kingdom of Media, and the inscription, which is in archaic Babylonian characters, is a memorial of Anu-banini, “the king of Lulubi.” The monument thus fixes the position of the country of Lulubi so often referred to in the Assyrian texts.<sup>1</sup>

In a more southerly direction Mr. Pognon, the French Consul at Bagdad, has discovered the posi-

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is published in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xiv. 1, 2 (1892), pp. 100 sq.

tion of another country mentioned on the cuneiform monuments. This was Asnunnak or Umlias. Mr. Pognon has found there the records of four *Patésis* or High-priests, who once bore rule in the country and erected various buildings, three of them being named Ibal-pel—a name which reminds us of the Amraphel of Genesis—Ur-Nin-gis-zida, and Qul-laqu (?).<sup>1</sup>

It only remains for me to thank my contributors for the valuable help they have rendered me in the preparation of this series of the *Records of the Past*, and for the labour they have expended in bringing an accurate knowledge of the monuments of the ancient East within the reach of the modern reader. Two of them, alas! are no more. The last hours of Mr. Arthur Amiaud and Mr. George Bertin were spent in the work to which they had devoted their lives, and almost the last of their contributions to science were made for the *Records of the Past*. To Professor Maspero my obligations are great; not only has he freely placed the most matured results of his Egyptological work at my disposal, he has further assisted me by his advice and encouragement in those departments of Oriental learning in which he is without a rival.

The new story of the Creation from Sumerian Babylonia which has been discovered and translated by Mr. Pinches fitly ends the series of Assyrian texts. It must form the starting-point of fresh investigations

<sup>1</sup> See the *Muséon* for June 1892.

into the character and origin of the Biblical narrative in the earlier chapters of Genesis, and in connection with the story of the Creation which I have translated in the first volume opens up unexpected points of view for the Biblical critic.

Before concluding, however, I have to note a misprint in the translation of another of the many fragments of antiquity the discovery of which we owe to Mr. Pinches. In the passage from the Babylonian Chronicle published in the last volume (p. 107, line 5), the name "Kadisman-Murus" should be corrected into "Kara-Murdas." The misprint is obvious, and the translator and editor can only plead as an excuse for it that "it is human to err."

A. H. SAYCE.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,

*September 1892.*



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EQUIVALENTS OF THE HEBREW LETTERS IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF ASSYRIAN NAMES MENTIONED IN THESE VOLUMES.

א	<i>a</i>	ל	<i>l</i>
ב	<i>b</i>	מ	<i>m</i>
ג	<i>g</i>	ן	<i>n</i>
ד	<i>d</i>	ס	<i>'s, s</i>
ה	<i>h</i>	ע	<i>e</i>
ו	<i>u, v</i>	פ	<i>p</i>
ז	<i>z</i>	ץ	<i>ts</i>
ח	<i>kh</i>	ק	<i>q</i>
ט	<i>dh</i>	ר	<i>r</i>
י	<i>i, y</i>	ש	<i>s, sh</i>
ך	<i>k</i>	ת	<i>t</i>

*N.B.*—Those Assyriologists who transcribe ש by *sh* use *s* for ס. The Assyrian *e* represents a diphthong as well as ע.

In the Introduction and Notes W. A. I. denotes *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, in five volumes, published by the Trustees of the British Museum. Doubtful words and expressions are followed by a note of interrogation, the preceding words being put into italics where necessary. *Lacunæ* are denoted by asterisks or by the insertion of supplied words between square brackets. Words needed to complete the sense in English, but not expressed in the original, are placed between round brackets. The names of individuals are distinguished from those of deities or localities by being printed in Roman type, the names of deities and localities being in capitals.



## HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMESES III.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR AUGUST EISENLOHR

THE First Series of the *Records of the Past* contained in vol. vi. and vol. viii. three texts of the reign of Rameses III., firstly (vol. vi. 17 ff.), the address of the god Amon Ra to the king and the names of the vanquished nations, who are fettered with cords grasped by the hand of the god and his companion, the local goddess of Thebes, taken from the 1st pylon of Medînet Habu (left side); secondly, the great Papyrus Harris, of whose 79 leaves the five last (vol. viii. p. 45 ff.) are of the highest importance for the age of Rameses III., as they teach us that his father, Seti-nekht, made an end of a state of political and religious anarchy, and that Rameses himself, after having defeated the Daanauna, the Zakaru, the Pulsata, the Shardana, and Uashash on the sea coast, subdued the tribes of the Bedouin and repulsed the Libyan populations on the west side, bringing the land to a state of tranquillity and welfare: the third article (vol. viii. p. 53 ff.) gave the

translation, by Mr. Le P. Renouf, of a criminal proceeding in a case of a harem conspiracy under Rameses III.

The time of this remarkable king, whose mummy was found at Dêr el-bahri, enclosed in the coffin of Queen Nofretari, whose sarcophagus of rose granite is at the Louvre, the broken lid at Cambridge, appeared to be fixed by the mention, in a calendar on the southern wall at Medînet Habu, of the (heliacal) rising of the star Sirius on the first day of the month Thoth, so giving as the date of the calendar the year 1318 B.C. Nevertheless, if the dates of the festivals mentioned in this calendar do not belong to the common vague year, but to the holy or fixed year (so H. Brugsch and Dr. Mahler), and if we have, after Dümichen, in this calendar only the exact copy of a calendar of Rameses the Great, whose fragments are embedded in the north-eastern pylon of Medînet Habu, no conclusion can be drawn from the mention of the rising of Sirius.

If the fragmentary calendar of Elephantine,<sup>1</sup> dating the rising of Sirius on the 28th of Epiphi, really belongs to Thothmes III., giving him the date of 1470 B.C., the probably twelfth year of Rameses III. can hardly be 1318 B.C., as there are between these two monarchs a whole series of kings, several with high ciphers attached to their reigns, as Amenophis III. (38 years), Rameses the Great (67 years), and after them the above mentioned long period of internal

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Louvre.

troubles. The date of 1450 B.C., offered by the Assyro-Babylonian chronology for the contemporaries and correspondents of Amenophis IV., seems just as little compatible with 1318 for Rameses III.

Though we do not deny that the description of the exploits of Rameses III. on stone and papyrus is somewhat exaggerated, it is not to be doubted that in his reign Egypt was still a powerful and formidable nation. As a proof we quote the remarkable passage of the great Harris Papyrus (Pl. ix. 1 ff.), where the king speaks of his building a temple in the land of Kanana, to which the nations of the Retennu came with their tributes for the gods.

As we learn from some hieratic inscriptions at Silsileh (*Denkm.* vi. 23), Rameses III. built in the fifth year of his reign the castle and temple of Medinet Habu, dedicated it to the god Ammon, and called it by the name of the House of Millions of Years, in Am-uart ("great abode") of Thebes. The walls of this building he filled with pictures and inscriptions of his deeds. We shall give in the following pages a short description of these texts, from which we select the most important in their chronological order.

On the eastern front of the palace, beneath two gigantic representations of the king slaughtering his enemies before Harmakhis (right side) and Amon Ra (left side), we see the kneeling figures of the princes of the principal foes of Rameses III., with their arms bound behind the back ; at the right side his Asiatic

enemies—the Kheta, the Amaro, the Zakaru, the Shardana, the Sha[su], the Tuirsha and the Pu[lsata], all with their characteristic faces and headdresses; and at the left side, in symmetrical arrangement, the African nations; Kush, [ ], the Libu, the Tursas, the Mashuash, and the Tarau.

At the inner side of the passage, on the left, the king, equipped with bow and quiver, brings to the god Amon two series of fettered prisoners, who exhibit a very strange manner of curling the hair.

Similar representations of vanquished prisoners are inside the doorway, and at the back of that building which some call a pavilion, others a palace.

Much richer in representations as in inscriptions is the temple itself, which is situated some two hundred and sixty feet behind the palace. The first pylon exhibits at both extremities two colossal pictures: on the left (Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.* i. pl. xi. xii.) the god Amon Ra handling the *shopesh* with a ram's head, and leading six series of prisoners with their names in crenellated shields. They are preceded by the local goddess of Thebes. On the right side we see (Düm. *loc. cit.* xvi. xvii.; *Denkmäler*, iii. 210, a) similarly the god Amon Ra Harmakhis, with the head of a hawk, handling a hawk-headed *shopesh* and conducting nine series of fettered prisoners. These representations are accompanied by texts, of which the left one has been translated by Birch, *Records of the Past*, First Series, vi. pp. 19, 20. The really poetic text on the right wing is as follows:—



Spoken by AMON RA HARMAKHIS :—My beloved son of my body, lord of both lands, Usermara-mer-amon, lord of the sword over every country, the lands of the ANU KHENT lie down slain under thy feet. I let come to thee the chiefs of the southern countries with their tributes, their children on their backs, all fine offerings of their country. Thou givest breath (according) to thy wish unto them. Thou killest those whom thy heart desires. I turn my face to the *North* and I charm for thee, I present to thee the red land under thy sandals, thou crushest hundreds of thousands to corpses, thou smitest down the HARUSHA by thy valiant sword. I let come to thee the countries which did ignore EGYPT, with their baskets, laden with gold, silver, genuine lapis lazuli, all precious stones, the selection of the divine land before thy beautiful face. I turn my face to the *East* and I charm for thee, I subjugate them to thee, their totality combined in thy fist. I have collected for thee all the things of PUNT, their tributes on gum of balm, precious (and) odoriferous, all woods pleasant of scent for thy face, for thy diadem, being on thy head. I turn my face to the *West* and I charm for thee, I destroy for thee the lands of TEHENNU, they come inclined to thee, imploring, prostrated on their feet, they shout to thee. I turn my face to the *height* and I charm for thee, they are hailing thee, (even) the gods of the horizon of the heaven born at the morning. Thou germinatest like [OSIRIS]; he brings justice. I turn my face to the *earth* and I charm for thee, I procure for thee the victory over all countries, they are rejoicing for thee, (even) the gods in the heaven; HUT giving to thee his arms on a fresh great place as seat of thy face, son of RA, Rameses-hek-An.

Nearer to the doorway on both sides of the pylon are smaller pictures, the king striking the prisoners before Ptah (on the left) and before Amon Ra. Beneath is a row of fettered prisoners, with their names on crenellated shields. Below each series is

a rather long stele, the left one dated in the twelfth year of Rameses III., and, as Dr. Lepsius discovered, an imitation of the stele of Rameses II. at Abu Simbel (*Denkm.* iii. 194), containing a dialogue between the god Ptah and the king. The other stele belongs to the eleventh year. A good copy of both sides is to be found in Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.* i. pl. vii.-x., and pl. xiii.-xv.; the two stelæ are also in De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, ii. pl. cxxi.-cxxxvi. (stele of year xii.), and pl. cxxxix.-cxxxviii. The stele of the year xi. is partly translated by Chabas, *Études sur l'antiq. historique*, 2<sup>ème</sup> édition, p. 237 sq. The contents of the stelæ are mere phrases, except the conclusion of that of the year xi., where the defeat of the army of the Libyan chief *Kapur* is described, as well as the submission of himself and his son.

The back of the first southern pylon contains texts of the eleventh year of King Rameses III., treating of the submission of the Temhu and the Mashuash (a Libyan tribe). The king in his chariot is shooting at his enemies (*Düm. Hist. Inschr.* i. pl. 18, 19; De Rougé, *Inscript.* cxiv.-cxvii.; Banville, *Alb. phot.* pl. 78). Probably the long text of the northern pylon (*Düm. loc. cit.* pl. 20-27) records the events of the same year, together with the register of the booty obtained during it. We shall translate this text under No. III.

Between the first and the second pylon are two colonnades, the left one supported by pillars, the right one by Osiris-caryatides. On the back wall of the

latter is an illustration of the capture of the town of Amaro by the king, who is shooting from his chariot. On the left wall of the second pylon which next follows, the king leads three series of fettered prisoners before Amon Ra. From the inscriptions we infer that these are the Daanauna (the Danaans) and the Pulsata (the Philistines). The whole of the right wall of the pylon is covered with a long inscription of the eighth year, which was cleared and first published by Mr. Greene (*Fouilles à Thèbes*, Paris, 1855), described by E. de Rougé (*Athénæum français*, 1855; *Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyph. récemment publiés par Mr. Greene*), afterwards published in Banville's *Album photographique*, pl. 76, 77, and in many other photographs, and translated by Chabas, *Études sur l'ant. hist.*, 2nd ed. p. 246 sq. We shall give further on (No. II.) a revised translation of this remarkable text.

The peristyle court of the temple of Medînet Habu, which we next enter, exhibits under its colonnade an illustration of two high festivals—the festival of the god Khem on the northern side, and that of the god Sokar on the southern. But besides this, the south-eastern and southern walls contain representations of the wars against the Libyan tribes, especially the Libu themselves, the Mashuash, etc. These representations are well given in the great works of Champollion and Rosellini (Champ. *Monuments*, pl. 208 = Ros. *Mon. reali*, 138; Champ. 207 = Ros. 137; Champ. 205 = Ros. 136; Champ. 206 = Ros.

135). Next to these representations is the long text of 75 lines, whose translation we give under No. I. The outward northern wall of the temple contains again illustrations of the war of the king and of a lion hunt. In his letters from Egypt and Nubia (Paris, 1833) Champollion has given an account of these representations (p. 352 ff.), which we have repeated in Baedeker's *Upper Egypt*, p. 183 ff. Here also the defeat of the Mashuash and the Libu is referred to, and also that of the Shardana and Zakaru, who entered the mouths of the Nile, and were annihilated by the Egyptian fleet and army. The picture of this naval combat is highly remarkable, and illustrates well the events recorded in the inscription of the year 8, l. 24, No. II.

Also, on the western bank of the Nile, at Karnak are memorials of the combats of Rameses III. Besides the scanty remains of a small temple near the sacred lake of Muth (Z on Lepsius's map, U in that in Baedeker's *Upper Egypt*), where the land of Tahi is mentioned and a summing up of the spoil is given, in the first court of the great temple of Amon, at a right angle to the axis of the temple, there is a well-preserved sanctuary, which, according to an inscription, dates from the sixteenth year of the king. Here also the king is slaying his enemies, whom the god conducts in crenellated shields. These representations are given in Lepsius's *Denkm.* Abth. iii. 207.

## HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION

FROM THE FIFTH YEAR OF RAMESES III. (HEK AN)  
IN 75 VERTICAL LINES

AS we said above, the south-west wall and the adjoining part of the south-east wall of the great peristyle court at Medînet Habu contain in their upper register the representation of the festival of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, while the lower register is filled with battle scenes and offerings of prisoners to the god Amon of Thebes. There are recorded the Temhu and the Mashuash, then the Tehennu and the Libu, whose cut hands and members are counted, by several thousands, by the scribes before the king standing in his chariot. Close to this scene follows an inscription of 75 lines, as far as the west corner; it is written retrograde, that is to say, the characters are not turned towards the beginning, but towards the end of the inscription.

The inscription has been published several times, first by Burton (*Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 1825-30, pl. 43-45), then by Rosellini (*Monumenti reali*, pl. 139-141), Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, ii. taf. xlvi.), De Rouge (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, ii. pl.

cxxxix.-cxlvii.), lastly by H. Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, v. p. 1197 ff.). I myself copied the inscription on my first journey to Egypt in 1869-70, which copy I revised afterwards in 1885 and 1890. According to my copies I translated the text, a part of which exists also in a fine photograph by H. Béchard. Mr. Chabas in his *Études sur l'antiquité historique* (1<sup>ère</sup> edit. 1872, p. 231 sq.; 2<sup>ème</sup> edit. 1873, p. 227 sq., p. 254 sq.), has given a translation of the text in the second edition only of lines 17-75. In the first edition he translated the whole text. He has also treated the different wars of Rameses III. in the above-mentioned work, and in his *Recherches sur la XIX. dynastie*, 1873.

1. Year 5 under the Majesty HOR-RA, the valiant bull, who enlarges KEMI,<sup>1</sup> strong with the scymetar,<sup>2</sup> an excellent fighter, he kills the TEHENNU,<sup>3</sup> the king of both countries . . .<sup>4</sup>
2. he smites the TEHENNU to tombstones on their places. The golden hawk, lord of both scymetars, making the frontier at his ease behind his foes . . .
3. his fear, his terror as a shield of EGYPT. The king, the youthful lord, brilliant are his risings, like those of the moon he repeats his birthday . . .
4. the son of RA, Rameses hek An,<sup>5</sup> chief of battles from his rising over EGYPT. Beginning with RA, returning at her setting. Given has the divine circle the lands. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Shopesh in Egyptian, so called from its likeness to the *thigh of an ox*.

<sup>3</sup> Tehenu is a general name for the populations to the west of Egypt, comprising the Temhu, the Mashuash, and the Libu.

<sup>4</sup> The ends of many of the lines are wanting.

<sup>5</sup> Prince of Heliopolis.

5. A warrior, the lord with extended arm, a runner, lord of the symbols like the son of NUT,<sup>1</sup> he makes the whole earth as she has been [in the time of the gods],
6. the king Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, chief great in love, lord of donations, his image is like RA, on the first morning, his terror [is fixed on the front]
7. of his diadem, established on the throne of RA as king of both lands, the country on the front and on the back in abundance, the nobles (like) the inferior . . .
8. assembled all together in his reign, the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara meri amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, the king valorous, courageous, arranging his affairs, he beholds . . .
9. his protecting fury in love is directed towards EGYPT. With extended arm and stretched feet he strikes each land, considering piously plans, stipulating laws, giving . . .
10. with delight did strike his name the hearts up to the clouds, reaches his formidable magnitude the Uu and Mer,<sup>2</sup> acquired by his valour arrive at once . . .
11. these, who did not know their masters, they come stooping to implore the breath of life which is in EGYPT from HOR-RA, the valiant bull of great royalty, the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, the great wall
12. of EGYPT, protecting their limbs, his valour like MENTU stretching down the Nine Bows,<sup>3</sup> a holy child in his origin, like HARMAKHIS he emerges, he is contemplated like TUM when he opens his mouth with
13. the breath of the enlightened in order to vivify both

<sup>1</sup> Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> Designation of the different parts of the country.

<sup>3</sup> The hostile nations, which are considered to have been nine in number.

- countries by his aliments every day, the prudent son, the defender of the circle of gods, yielded are to him the obstinate countries, boiled in their blood,
14. he does not harvest, captured (are) all his men, withdrawn the utensils of every kind in his country, coming in adoration
15. in order to behold the great sun of EGYPT over themselves, embellished is the disk for them. The great sun rises,
16. she shines over the earth. The light of EGYPT, which is in the heaven. Words: Raise oh RA! our land . . . we are lost
17. in . . . daily the clouds. Slaughtered has the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, the countries of the plain and of the mountains, he has eradicated (them)
18. and brought to EGYPT as slaves presented wholly to its circle of gods. Oh satiator with food to produce abundance
19. in both countries! Numerous exultations in this country without sorrow. Established has AMON his son on his place; the whole circuit (of) the sun
20. united in his fist. The wretched SATI, the TEIENNU the robbers, who
21. ill treated the beloved land, ransacked the country in decline since the (former) kings. They outraged the gods like the people, there was none daring to
22. oppose them since they revolted. Behold there was the youth like an impetuous griffin well versed like MEHI (THOTH) in the divine words . . .
23. they pass like a scheme (?) in . . . all that comes forth from the mouth into [the land is effectuated]. His soldiers are urging, [they do] not [retrocede] . . . they are
24. like bulls ready [to rush] against goats. His cavalry like hawks prowling (?) against the young birds,
25. ruddy like a lion full of wild fury. His officers



- impetuous like the god RESHPU view ten thousands as the pupil of the eye ; they were like MENTU
26. the warrior. His name terrifies the lands and the mountains. The TEMHU are coming rallied together : the LIBU, the ANTU (?), the MASHUASH caught in their country
  27. the BURAPA (?), their soldiers confiding in their plans they came full in their hearts : We shall frustrate their designs in their body ; we shall fill our hearts with
  28. outrages. Their plans were perverted, repulsed, broken on the heart of the god. Interceding the chief for them, was impotent in the heart (?) of the god.
  29. The benevolent, knowing the plan. Look ! there has made him this god, the lord of the gods, for the great of EGYPT for eternity. Through his victories he made supplicate the nations, the chiefs (on their bodies),
  30. the mighty king, his majesty intelligent like THOTH. Their hearts and plans were made discernible before him. His majesty took possession of the land TEMHU with their children . . . (the acquisition)
  31. of his double sword. They applied to the chief that they might retain their country. Such has not been heard since there are kings. Behold the heart of his majesty raging with oppression . . . the valiant sword
  32. attacking the hares, holding him like a keen bull, clutching with the claws, kicking with the horns, shaking the mountains by his stalk . . . the gods
  33. their plans made his success. If there were who liked to transgress his frontiers, his majesty was going forth against them like a flame (which propagates) in the thick bushes . . . like birds
  34. in the interior of nets, packed in bunches, made to a roast. Prostrated as knocked down to the earth, the chiefs slain, a heavy defeat,
  35. not to be numbered. Look ! evil is done unto them to the height of heaven, executed their males on the

- spot, the killed are made in piles . . . on their own
36. ground by the valour of the king, vigorous in his limbs, the only lord, powerful like MENTU, the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, everything he brought as spoil to EGYPT, hands,
37. members not to be counted, conducted as prisoners fettered in the prison. The chiefs of nations assembled to contemplate their disgrace. The magistrates of the order of thirty
38. following the king, their arms raised, they exult to the heaven with loving hearts. AMON-RA, the god, has fixed the victory of the prince. They are coming,
39. ambassadors of each country; their heart is distressed, taken off, it is no more in their bodies. Their faces looking on the king, as on TUM, bruised is the spine of the TEMHU to terminate. Look, his majesty made their legs
40. transgressing the frontiers of EGYPT. Their leaders are in fear made into tribes in the battles marked on the great name of his majesty. These who violated (the frontier)
41. were trembling. Unable was their mouth to recollect the shape of EGYPT. The land of TEMHU, which had come, was made to run away, the MASHUASH (were) suspended
42. in their country, eradicated their plants, not existing at once, paralysed all their limbs by terror. "Bruised are our spines, and they (are) behind us to the land of MERA.
43. Its lord has annihilated our souls for ever and eternity." Woe (!) to them! They behold their dances like their rout. SEKHET is behind them. Terror is
44. on them. We do not find a road to march on. We step on water throughout. In their battles they do not combat with us fighting. There is drawing near

45. to us the flame. We wish to withdraw ourselves. The flame seizes us, there is no extinguishing for us. Their lord (is) like SET, beloved by RA. There is heard his roaring.
46. Like a griffin he is behind us murdering many (?). He is compassionate; he let us go back [out of] EGYPT for ever. Dispersed the . . . We sink
47. to the death, made to a flame into which we enter, but issue not. Titi, Mashaknu, Maraiu and the chief of the AMARO
48. carried on the Mara occupied to enter EGYPT through the LIBU with the flame in the front and in the rear. There came the gods to call us to account
49. because we made encroachments on their property, in their territories. We shall praise the great valour of EGYPT saying: RA has given to it the power, the victory, there is beholden the rising like . . .
50. Like RA in his shining on the pious. Let us approach him, let us glorify him, let us touch the ground before the great sword, the vigorous (?) of . . .
51. the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara mer amon, the son of RA, Rameses hek An, who has made the northern nations trembling in their members, the PULSATA, the ZAKKARA . . .
52. eradicated their country, departed their soul consumed. They are emigrants to another country in the great ocean. These, who came . . .
53. AMON-RA behind them, killing them. These who entered the æstuaries like birds slipped into the net, made prisoners . . .
54. their arms, their heart agitated, taken away, it is no more in their bodies. Led on, their chiefs killed, stretched down they made as bound together . . .
55. saying: He is treading on the prisoner, holding him fast with his claw, the unique lord, set up over EGYPT, a true warrior, discharging without failing [his aim].
56. The extremities of the great circuit (he) made tremble

- with one word. Where are we? Imploring they came stopped by the fear of him. They did not know any more their force, their limbs were paralysed.
57. The terror of his majesty (is) over them every day, he is like a ram staying on the meadow, who struggles with his horns ready to precipitate himself on what is nearing to his head, a valiant warrior [with]
58. clamour, a runner, lord of the sword, he subjugates the whole land. They come stooping to his impetuosity. A flourishing child, valiant like BAAL in (his fury)
59. a king fulfilling all plans, the designs do not fail, what he enterprises is realised at once, the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara, son of RA, Rameses hek An. The lands have seduced us knowing . . .
60. who were desirous in their hearts of the land of MERA. The lord, great of victories as king of both countries, he smites down his totality; he frightens the Nine Bows, he is like a lion who *takes hold* (?) of
61. the dispersed on the mountains, fearing the distance, his terror is the griffin (who) extends the feet, lord of his wings (on) the water of immensity:
62. likewise as rushes the leopard knowing his prey, seizes in (his) course, destroys with his arms the bodies of the transgressors of his frontiers, tempest beaten is the country of the Western Bow.
63. He invades with vehemence, he kills hundreds of thousands on their seats from his chariot. He beholds multitudes like locusts, he beats in turning,
64. he *crushes* (?) like stones. He kicks with the horns whoever comes near to his sword. His millions (and) his hundreds of thousands obey before him, his stature is like the god MENTU.
65. When he comes forth, is stooping to him every country at the recollection of him, the prince pious in designs like PTAH, possessing this country in its length with all *dependencies* (?),

66. very strong, of great valour, in lands and mountains he makes himself lord, becoming like the dweller of CHMUNU (THOTH), the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, the sweetheart of EGYPT, having the defence (of) the country in
67. the elevation of his spine. Without contradiction a resistant wall, the shade of the pious. They are sitting for thee according to their hearts, confiding in (thy) valour. Their
68. food (?) (protection?) is the *work* (?) of his arms, saying: The divine hawk, he beats, he grasps, he makes him become warriors in his battles, carrying castles,
69. temples, towns, as a prey of his sword. There are given offerings to the gods consisting of his preciousnesses. They are at his right and at his left to overthrow the Nine Bows. His valiant arms they are
70. to reach it whole with. Has given him AMON his glorious father the countries united all together under his sandals. The king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, son of RA, Rameses hek An. Behold now the HORUS, rich in years, efflux
71. divine of RA, emanating from his limbs, splendid living effigy of the son of ISIS, coming forth invested with the helm like MENTU (?) the great, a NILE, islands with their aliments for the land of MERA ;
72. the pious and the widows having a good place. A king making the justice of the lord over all, affording it every day in his presence. EGYPT, the lands (are) in peace in his reign.
73. The land is like a couch without affliction<sup>1</sup> of the heart, there may go the woman after her wish, may dress herself after her head, may direct her foot to the places she likes, all nations are coming bending

<sup>1</sup> Literally "change."

74. to the spirits of his majesty. Their tributes, their children on their backs. The southern as the northern (bend) to him in adoration. They behold him like RA on the morning. These are
75. the deliberated designs of the victorious king, charming in plans like the handsome face (PTAH), the king . of Upper and Lower EGYPT, lord of both lands, lord of the sword, Usermara mer amon, son of RA, Rameses hek An, giving life like RA for ever.

THE LISTS OF THE PLACES IN NORTHERN  
SYRIA AND PALESTINE CONQUERED  
BY RAMSES II. AND RAMSES III.

BY THE EDITOR

BY way of completing the geographical lists which have been published by Mr. Tomkins in the last volume of the *Records of the Past* (New Series, vol. v. pp. 25-53), I give here the similar lists which Ramses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty and Ramses III. of the Twentieth caused to be inscribed in imitation of their predecessor of the Eighteenth. In editing the lists prepared by Mr. Tomkins I added some comparisons from the list of Ramses III. published by Dümichen; since doing so I have collated Dümichen's copies with the originals, and have found that they are not in all cases correct.

The lists of Ramses II. were engraved partly on the inside of the great pylon at Karnak, partly on the southern wall of that temple, to the left of the text of the treaty with the King of the Hittites. Another list of the same Pharaoh, shockingly mutilated, has been found during the recent excavations on the exterior of the western wall of the temple of

Luxor. Ramses III. has also left a short list of names at Karnak, but his chief list is to be found on the eastern face of the great pylon of the temple-palace which he built at Medînet Habu to commemorate his victories.

A few of the names in the latter list were published, but incorrectly, by De Rougé. Dümichen subsequently copied all that were visible, and they appeared in his *Historische Inschriften*, plates vii. xii. xiii. and xvii. Excavation has now laid nearly all of them bare, and last winter I made copies of them, with the help of Mr. Wilbour. The copies of Dümichen have to be emended in several points, but they are accurate on the whole, though the new names which have to be added to them are very numerous.

The list given by Ramses II. on the inner side of the pylon at Karnak has been copied by Champollion and Lepsius. That on the southern wall has been published by Brugsch Pasha (*Geographische Inschriften*, ii., and *History of Egypt*, English translation, 2nd edition, p. 67), but so inaccurately that the names in it are not to be recognised. The names, for instance, transcribed by him in his *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Qa-sa-na-litha and Pa-rihi ought to be Q-a-n-sa-l-m-â and Q-a-r-h-u. The hieroglyphics, however, are much defaced, and owing to the heaping up of a bank of earth below them it is now easier to decipher them than was formerly the case. I have had Mr. Wilbour's assistance in making them out.



The Luxor list of Ramses II. was copied by myself in the winter of 1890-91, and I compared my copies with the originals last winter.

According to Dr. Mahler's astronomical calculations the reign of Ramses II. lasted from B.C. 1347 to 1281. The date of Ramses III. falls about seventy years later. The principal campaign of Ramses II. against Canaan seems to have taken place in his 8th year; it was then, according to the texts of the Ramesseum, that he conquered Shalam or Jerusalem, Marom or Merom, the Spring of Anamini, Beth-Anoth (Josh. xv. 59) and Qarbu[tu], "Dapur in the land of the Amorites," Ashkelon, Gaba . . . , Ata . . . , Qamna, Damascus, Ai, L(u)za, and Innuâmu. The Karnak list of places in Palestine may, however, belong to another campaign.

The list of Luxor bears testimony to a campaign in the north in which Ramses II. claims to have defeated the forces not only of Carchemish and Mitanni, but also of Assyria. The inscription which accompanies the list refers to "a city," which "the valiant power of the Pharaoh captured in the land of Satuna." Where this land was situated is unknown.

On the inner wall of the pylon at Karnak the list of countries named by the Pharaoh is prefaced by the statement that he had overthrown "the Anti of Menti" and the "Fenkhu." Who the latter were is pointed out by Brugsch Pasha in his *Aegyptologie*, ii. p. 466. One of the copies of the Palestine list of Thothmes III. is accompanied by a text which

refers to the "unknown peoples" included in it under the general name of Fenkhu. It is therefore possible that those scholars have been right who have derived the Greek name of the Phœnicians from this old Egyptian term.

The names in the list of Ramses III. which I have copied at Medînet Habu are important to the historian, partly because they show that the Egyptian king marched at least as far as Hamath, though he avoided the Phœnician cities in his passage along the sea coast; partly because they make it clear that he overran Southern Palestine. Among other towns of which he claims the capture is Hebron and its "Spring." Like Ramses II., he also claims the capture of "the district of Jerusalem." But his list contains no reference to the name either of Judah or of any other Israelitish tribe, and it would therefore appear that even as late as the reign of Ramses III. the Israelites were not as yet firmly established in the future territory of Judah.

The question may be raised whether the list of Ramses III. is not copied from that of Ramses II., and if so, whether the conquests claimed by him were really his own. But a comparison of the two lists will set all doubts on the question at rest. The list of Ramses III. is fuller than that of his predecessor, and follows a more accurate geographical sequence. On the whole, moreover, the names are more correctly written in it than they are in the lists of Ramses II. Thus *qau* is written simply *qa* in the list

of the earlier king, while the Egyptian name of the Dead Sea, "the Lake of Rethpana," appears as "Repana." If there has been borrowing, it must have been in both cases from a common source, of which no trace exists.

The system of transliteration is that which has been adopted by Mr. Tomkins. The vowels are represented only where they occur in the hieroglyphic original, though in the case of certain characters, like the flying bird, the seated bird, and the gate, the vowel *a* has been added within brackets to their initial consonant—*p(a)*, *z(a)*, *s(a)*. The outstretched arm is denoted by *â*, the symbol for "great" by *âa*. It must be remembered that *r* and *l* in ancient Egyptian are expressed by the same characters; in order to distinguish, however, the lion from the mouth the first is represented by *l*, the second by *r*. The determinative of "country" is denoted by the double obelus (‡), and the single upright line, which signifies "one" in the hieroglyphics, as well as the sign of the plural, is represented by a dash (—). Lost characters are denoted by brackets [    ].

LIST OF COUNTRIES CONQUERED BY RAMSES  
 II. ENUMERATED ON THE INNER WALL  
 OF THE PYLON AT KARNAK

1. ARMA †. Identified by Mr. Tomkins with Orma, south-west of Abyssinia (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, x. 1, 2). Prof. Maspero reads Ilimmi (*Recueil*, viii. 1, 2).
2. BR-BR-TA, followed by the ideograph "twice." Barbarta occurs in the list of southern countries conquered by Thothmes III. (No. 9), and has been compared with the name of the modern Berber. This Brbrta, however, may be the North Syrian Barbartu of Ramses III. (*B. left*, ii. 8).
3. MAU †, with the determinative of walking. In the Medînet Habu list (No. B. *right*, i. 26) it follows the name of Korkha in Moab. It is doubtful whether it represents the native name of a country or is the Egyptian *mau*, "road."<sup>1</sup>
4. AAR-MU †. Aram. Probably the Aram or Syria of Damascus.
5. AAR[—] †. The name of El precedes that of Aram at Medînet Habu. Compare the name of "the country of Aar" or "El" mentioned next to Nii and shortly after Tunip in the North Syrian list of Thothmes III., No. 134. In the stele of Panammu, king of Samalla, the kingdom of Yari is referred to more than once.<sup>2</sup>
6. KSH. The land of Cush or Ethiopia.
7. TO-RIS. "The land of the South."

<sup>1</sup> It must, of course, be distinguished from the Mauâ of the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Aar is also the name of a country in the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 179).

THE LIST OF PLACES IN PALESTINE CON-  
QUERED BY RAMSES II. ENUMERATED ON  
THE SOUTHERN WALL OF KARNAK

FIRST LIST

1. QANS(A)-ALMÂ †, Qa-n-Salem, "the district of Salem."  
The position of the place in the list of Ramses III. shows that Salem or Jerusalem is meant. Shalam is one of the cities of Palestine captured by Ramses II., according to the texts of the Ramesseum. In the corresponding list of Ramses III. *qa* is written *gau*. Brugsch, in his Dictionary, gives *qai* as signifying "a plateau," from *qa*, "to be high." In the poem of Pentaur the word is written *gau(t)*, with the determinatives of locality and road, and is in parallelism with *matennu*, "roads."
2. QAL-P(A)A[NA]. The list of Ramses III. shows that we must read "the Lake of Re[th]pa[na]," the dental having been omitted by the Egyptian scribe. As the name of the lake comes in that list between Salem and the Jordan it must represent the Dead Sea. The dental should properly correspond with a Hebrew (Canaanitish) *samech*; in *thupar* "a trumpet," however, it represents a *shin* (Hebrew *shophar*), so that Rethpana may be a derivative from Resheph, the Canaanitish Sun-god, who revealed himself in flames of fire.<sup>1</sup> Compare Gen. xix. 24.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the god, when introduced into the Egyptian pantheon, was pronounced Reshpu. His consort seems to have been the goddess Kadesh.

3. AA[RD]AN[A] †. Read Yerdana, "the country of the Jordan." The name is restored from the list of Ramses III.
4. KHIR-Z †. Khilz, probably the Babylonian *Khalzu*, "fortress."
5. QAR-HU †. The Korkha of the Moabite Stone. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 200.
6. [UR]Û †. In the list of Ramses III. the determinative of locality is attached to the *u* in both syllables to indicate its length. Perhaps the Babylonian *ûrtû*, the Moabite *Ar* or "City" (Numb. xxi. 28), is meant.
7. ABL— †. The Abel or "meadow" of a place called Karzak in the list of Ramses III. Compare the Abel of the Palestine list of Thothmes III. (No. 92).
8. QARMANA †. Carmel of Judah. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v. p. 50 (No. 96).
9. QAHIR-IR-TABALA †. "The upper district of Thabara." This must be Debir, the old name of Kirjath-sepher, since the dental is that which corresponds with the *d* of Megiddo and Damascus in the list of Thothmes III. See the list of Ramses III., B. *right*, i. 16.
10. SHMÂSHNA †. Pronounce Shimshana, Shimshon, "the city of the Sun-god," called Ir-shemesh in the Old Testament (Josh. xix. 41).
11. HADAS[T]A †, with determinative after initial *ha*. This name must be taken along with the next,
12. AARIZ †, the Hebrew *erez*, "country," the Egyptian scribe having transposed the places of the substantive and adjective. The term means "new lands." It is the Hadashah of Josh. xv. 37. See the list of Ramses III., B. *right*, i. 18, 19.

## SECOND LIST

1. [R]AUSHQAD[SHU †]. Rosh-Qadesh, "the headland" of Mount Carmel. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v. p. 47 (No. 48).

2. I[N-]ZATA †. This follows the name of Rosh-Qadesh in the list of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 12).
3. [MAG]AR—†. Called "the spring of the Magar" by Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 13). It is the Magoras or river of Beyrout, which took its name from the Maghârat or "Caves," past which it runs. In the *Travels of a Mohar*, the sky is described as being darkened there.
4. R-H(U)ZA †, with determinative after *h(u)*. The name is written in the same way in the list of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 8). It cannot have been far from Gaza.
5. S(A)-AAB(A)-TA †. Written Saaba by Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 9), who places it next to Gaza.
6. KAZ(A)T(O) †. Gaza.
7. QAS(A)-R-ÂA †. Qa-Salâ, *âa* being followed by the determinative. In the list of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 5), the name is written Qau-Salâkh, an attempt being made to represent the guttural sound of the Canaanitish *ghain*. "The district of Selâ" must be that about Petra (2 Kings xvii. 7; Isaiah xvi. 1).
8. QAUZ(A)-ASR—(?) †. The lost character is doubtful, and may be *a* instead of *r*. In the corresponding name, however, in the list of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 6), we have almost certainly *r*. "The district of Zasr" or "Zasl," between Selâ and Jacob-el.
9. IÂAQB(A)AL—. The hieroglyphs *neb-k*, "thy lord," have been engraved over the name, in which *âa* is followed by the determinative. The "Jacob-el" of the list of Thothmes III. (*Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v. p. 102). In the list of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 7) the name of Gaza follows after two other names.
10. P(A)T(O)NAK-RITH †. "The country of Akriith." This must be the Ugarit of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

LIST OF PLACES CONQUERED BY RAMSES II.,  
FROM THE WEST WALL OF LUXOR

On the right hand side of the entrance to the great hall the cartouches are almost all destroyed, only the final characters remaining in each. We have :—

- (1). [ ]Q(?)<sup>A</sup> †.  
 (2). [ ]ZA †.  
 (3). [ ]R †.  
 (4). [ ]ANAUL.  
 (5). [ ]<sup>A</sup>AA(?) †.  
 (6). [ ] “ Lake.”  
 (7). [ ]NTH †.  
 (8). [ ]U †.  
 (9). [ ]UR †.  
 (10). [ ]Z(A)? †.  
 (11). [ ] “ Lake.”  
 (12). [ ] “ Lake.”  
 (13). [ ]S(?) †.  
 (14). [ ] †.  
 (15). [ ]S †.  
 (16). [ ]—F †.  
 (17). M(A)THNA †. Mitanni, the Aram Naharaim of Scripture.  
 (18). LN-R— †. To be pronounced Lal or Lar. The 43rd name in the list of Seti I. at Abydos.  
 (19). AR-TUG †. The 39th name in the list of Seti I., where it follows the name of Tunip (now Tennib, north-west of Aleppo).



- (20). ASSUR—†. Assyria. The 37th name in the list of Seti I.
- (21). B(A)R-GA †. The 42nd name in the list of Seti I., in which it is written Barq. We may compare Bargâ, a district of Hamath, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv. p. 70, line 88.
- (22). [ ]NTAS †.

On the left hand side of the entrance were three lines of cartouches one above the other. Of the first line there remain only—

- (7). [BAL-]NU †. No. 13 in the list of Seti I.
- (8). [A]QUPTA. No. 28 in the list of Seti I., where it follows the name of Mennus.

Of the second line we have :—

- (1). [ ]QU †.
- (2). [ ]U †.
- (3). [ ]ZM †.
- (4). [ ]GAL—†.
- (5). "The waters of [ ]ZH."
- (6). KP[ ]U †.
- (7). B(A)[ ]†.
- (8). HAA † (or HAM).
- (9). LN-L(?) †. See above, No. 18.
- (10). R[ ].

Of the third line we have :—

- (1). M(A)THNA †. This seems to be Mitanni.
- (2). THKH[ ]†.
- (3). QAR-TH[ ]ÂA(?)M. This seems to contain a Semitic Kirjath.
- (4). QAD[ ]U—†. Compare the Qadna of Seti I. (No.

9), called Qadnaf by Amenôphis III. (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 88).

- (5). QAB(A)ÂA †. Probably some Gibeah. Compare the name of Gaba[ ], which precedes Ashkelon, at the Ramesseum.
- (6). HERAZTUM †. This was a country of Pun, called Shaztum in the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 61), and Aztum in that of Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 2).
- (7). STHBU †. A country of Pun, mentioned with the preceding in the lists of Thothmes III. (No. 60) and Ramses III. (B. *right*, ii. 1).
- (8). UTU[L]TH †. A country of Pun mentioned with the preceding by Thothmes III. (No. 59).

THE LISTS OF RAMSES III. AT MEDÏNET  
HABU

A. I. On the left side of the first pylon<sup>1</sup> :—

- a. (1). TAS(A)-[KH]U †. The names which accompany this show it to have been a country of Northern Syria. See below, II. *south*, vi. 6.  
 (2). AÛRI †. The Aûr-ma of the North Syrian list of Thothmes III. (No. 313).  
 (3). AN-THAK †. The An-t[ak] of the North Syrian list of Thothmes (No. 193).

Below, facing left :—

- b. (1). KAR-NA †.  
 (2). AATU †. This and the preceding name form the single compound name Atugeren in the North Syrian list of Thothmes (No. 191). Atugeren or Atukarna seems to mean "the goddess Athe of the horn."  
 (3). TR-BUS(A)— †. The Trb of the list of Thothmes (No. 190), now Tereb, south-west of Aleppo. The final -s is the suffix of the nominative.  
 (4). THIR-NA †. The Tarnu of the list of Thothmes (No. 260).

Facing right :—

- (1). HIR-NAM †. The names which accompany this show that it was in Southern Palestine. We cannot,

<sup>1</sup> Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, vii.

therefore, identify it with Harnemmata, mentioned in the *Travels of a Mohar*, which seems to have been near Kadesh on the Orontes.

- (2). R-B(A)N-TH †. Lebanoth.
- (3). KHIBUR— †. Long since identified with Hebron.
- (4). AATSA-R †.
- (5). R-ZS(?) [ ] U(?) †.
- (6). IHA †. Phonetically this name corresponds with the Hebrew Yah, the shorter form of Yahveh.

## II. On the south side<sup>1</sup> :—

### FIRST LINE

- (1). MA [ ] †. One letter has been lost in this name.
- (2). P(?)R(?) [ ] .
- (3). PUTHR[A] †. Compare the name of Pdri or Pethor in the list of Thothmes (No. 280).
- (4). TS(A)-TS(A)-M(A) †.

### SECOND LINE

- (1). THR-SHKHA †. Tharshkha, in Northern Syria.
- (2). KHAL-B †. Helebi, on the Euphrates, the Khalbu of Thothmes III. (No. 246).
- (3). S(A)-R-MESKI †. The name perhaps contains that of the Meshech or Moschi, the Muskâ of the Assyrian inscriptions.
- (4). AAIM(A)R †. Written Aimar below (fifth line, No. 4). It is the name of the Amorite, elsewhere written Aamar. Compare the Amar-seki of Thothmes III. (No. 156).

### THIRD LINE

- (1). S(A)-RI †. Perhaps the Sur of Thothmes III. (No. 252). Compare the name of the river Saros.
- (2). ATAL— †. Compare the Atur of Thothmes III. (No. 221).
- (3). M(A)QNAS(A)— †. The Mângnasa of Thothmes III. (No. 186).

<sup>1</sup> Dümichen, plate xii.

- (4). TAR-SHB(A) †. Compare the name of Tharsh-kha above.
- (5). B(A)-TS(A)-R—. FOURTH LINE
- (1). AA[ ]-SI †. The ideograph of plurality follows one lost character.
- (2). AAMAN— †. Amanus, the Khamanu of the Assyrian inscriptions, a spur of which was called Amman-anu. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v. pp. 127 and 158.
- (3). AAL-KAN †. Compare the Alka of Thothmes III. (No. 283). Also Argana, a district of Hamath, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions; see *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iv. p. 70, line 88.
- (4). PER-KATS(A)— †. The last character is doubtful, and the first should probably be read Pi.
- (5). B(?)UBAI †.
- (6). KR-NA †. For Karna, the Atu-geren of Thothmes III., see above.

## FIFTH LINE

- (1). KIR-UI †.
- (2). AABURTH †. The Abalth of Thothmes III. (No. 206).
- (3). QUBUR— †. For this see below (B. *right*, ii. 17).
- (4). AIM(A)R— †. The land of the Amorite, called Amurra in the cuneiform texts of Tel el-Amarna, north of Palestine. See above, 2nd line (No. 4).
- (5). UL-U †. The two vowels have the determinative of locality attached to them, showing that they have a long sound. They would thus correspond with the Assyrian *ûrû*, given in the lexical tablets as the equivalent of the Hebrew *'ir*, "city." From the list which is given below it would appear that URU was in Moab. It may therefore correspond with Ar of Moab. See the List of Ramses II. at Karnak, i. 6.
- (6). KUSHP(A)TU †.
- (7). K-NNU †. Probably the Kanneh of Ezekiel xxvii. 23, called Erez Kna, "the land of Kanneh," by Thothmes III. (No. 139).

- (8). L[ ]UR-S †. The first character is not quite certain, and the name may be the Sarsu of Thothmes III. (No. 317).
- (9). AAP(A)IKHA. This must be the Aripkha of Thothmes III. (No. 318).

## SIXTH LINE

- (1). SHABI †.
- (2). TSAUR— †. More probably the Thnu-zaur of Thothmes III. (No. 173), than his PA-ZRU or "Plain" (No. 154).
- (3). KIR-SNPERN †. The last syllable should be read *pin*.
- (4). M(A)UR-NUS(A)— †. Mul-nus is a name similar in formation to Mul-mal or Mul-mar (below, B. *left*, ii. 8), or to that of the Hittite king Mul-sir.
- (5). S(A)-MÂI †. Simi resembles the name of a goddess of Hierapolis (the successor of Carchemish), who is called Simi by Melito of Sardes.
- (6). TAS(A)-KHA †. A comparison of the Kappadokian local names, Das-tarkon, Das-menda, and Das-teira, indicates that Das was a Hittite deity.
- (7). ZAURI †. The Pa-zru or "Plain" of Thothmes III. (No. 154).
- (8). AB(A)L †. An Abel or "meadow," of which the A(u)balina of Thothmes III. (No. 151) is an Aramaic plural.
- (9). M(A)THNA †. Mitanni, or Aram-Naharaim, opposite Carchemish.
- (10). KAR-KAM(A)SH †. Carchemish, now Jerablus, a little to the north of the junction of the Sajur and the Euphrates.

On the north side of the pylon, right hand<sup>1</sup>:—

- (1). PUNT †. The districts on either side of the Bab el-Mandeb.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dümichen, plate xiii.

<sup>2</sup> In the account of the expedition to Pun given by Queen Hashepsu at Dêr el-Bâhari, the country is stated to have been "on the two sides of the Great Green Water," which the Pyramid texts prove to have signified the Red Sea.

- (2). APMU †. A region of Pun. Called Pamu by Thothmes III., southern list (No. 47).
- (3). ASP †. Called Aspau in the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 46).
- (4). ZZS(Λ)S †. No. 90 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (5). HUÂT †. No. 89 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (6). TOSM(Λ)M †. No. 94 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (7). M(Λ)ARI †.

On the north side of the pylon, facing west<sup>1</sup> :—

- (1). ZUNU †, with determinative of "foreigner."
- (2). TAB(A)T— †.
- (3). ANTAKA †.
- (4). ZZSS(A) †. This name shows that we are still in the south.
- (5) and (6) destroyed.
- (7). [A]ZTUM †. Called Her-aztum by Ramses II., Luxor, iii. 6.
- (8). [ ]BIMU †.
- (9). TEPSTUM †. No. 253 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (10). AIMENNU †. No. 254 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (11). ABS(Λ)-FU †. No. 255 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (12). HUFU †. Called Hafu by Thothmes III. (No. 256).
- (13). AFU †, with determinative of "foreigner." No. 257 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (14). TUMER(?) †. No. 248 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (15). SHBBT †. No. 249 in the southern list of Thothmes III.
- (16). DUAUUM †. No. 250 in the southern list of Thothmes III.

<sup>1</sup> Dümichen, plate xvii.

- (17). AĀSHAA †. Called Aāshu by Thothmes III. (No. 251).  
 (18). ZANU †, with the determinative of "foreigner."  
 Probably identical with No. 1. Called Za by  
 Thothmes III. (No. 252).  
 (19). [ ]RT †.  
 (20). [ ]NAHA †.  
 (21). [ ]AQ †.  
 (22). AHATHRER †. No. 246 in the southern list of  
 Thothmes III.  
 (23). HAA †, with determinative of "foreigner."  
 (24). TO-SHSHT †. No. 105 in the southern list of  
 Thothmes III.  
 (25). BHSTI †. No. 106 in the southern list of Thothmes III.  
 (26). B(A)[KT] †. No. 108 in the southern list of  
 Thothmes III.  
 (27). TAS(A)-TU †. No. 109 in the southern list of  
 Thothmes III.  
 (28). NHSTH †. No. 101 in the southern list of Thothmes  
 III.  
 (29). TRERNS[†]. No. 102 in the southern list of  
 Thothmes III.  
 (30). ZSN— †. No. 103 in the southern list of Thothmes  
 III.  
 (31). ÂĀA †. Called Âu by Thothmes (No. 104).<sup>1</sup>  
 (32). FURI †.  
 (33). TRER[ ] †.  
 (34). [ ]A[ ].  
 (35). TRER[ ]A †.  
 (36) destroyed.  
 (37). ÂTH[ ]A †.  
 (38), (39), (40) destroyed.  
 (41). [ ]TU †.  
 (42). [ ]KA †.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Most of the identifications of the names in the southern list with the names given by Thothmes III. have already been made by Brugsch Pasha. The names in the southern list of Thothmes III. are given in accordance with the corrections made by Professor Maspero after a fresh collation with the originals (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vii. 2, 3, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> Dümichen's copies cease here.



## B. South side of the pylon, facing left:—

## LINE I

- (1). KAR-NA †.
- (2). AATU †. For these two names see above (I. *b.* 1, 2).  
It will be noticed that where a geographical name is divided into two, the second part of it is given first.
- (3). TR-BUS(A)—†. The Trb of Thothmes III. See above (I. *b.* 3). The Tel el-Amarna tablets have informed us that in the languages of Mitanni and Arzawa, as in that of Van, the nominative of nouns terminated in *-s*.
- (4). THIR-NA †. See above (I. *b.* 4).
- (5). AN-THKA †. See above (I. *a.* 3).
- (6). ÂNTAKN †. This is evidently another form, perhaps a plural, of the preceding. In the languages of Mitanni and Arzawa, as in that of Van, the accusative of nouns terminated in *-n*.
- (7). TABATA †. Compare the Abata of Thothmes III. (No. 198).
- (8). M(A)RM(A)UR—†. The Mâurmâr or Mulmal of Thothmes III. (No. 272).
- (9). TR-KHAIS †. The Tarkha of Thothmes III. (No. 292), with the suffix (*s*) of the nominative.
- (10). AAMESTR-K †. To be read Yemes-Tark, where the second part of the compound is the name of the Hittite god Tarku.
- (11). Ā-R-KABR—†. Written Rrbur below (C. ii. 4).
- (12). KAGATI †. Written Kaqth below (C. ii. 5).
- (13). TS(A)-AKNU †. Zaknu.
- (14). THR-TU †. The *t* is probably a mistake for the similarly-formed character *k/h*.
- (15). MÂIL †, with the determinative of "foreigner." Read Mil or Mir.

## LINE II

- (1). MÂIL †. The name which follows indicates the relative situation of the country.

- (2). SENTS(A)-ARNA †. The Senzar of the inscription of Amen-em-heb (*Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iv. p. 9), which Prof. Maspero identifies with the Thnu-zaur of the list of Thothmes III. (No. 173). In the language of Mitanni the suffix (*e*)*na* denotes the plural.
- (3). THSUPU †. Compare the name of the Mitannian god Tessupas or Tessubbe, the Vannic Teisbas, who corresponded to the Assyrian Hadad-Rimmon.
- (4). TA-S(A)-A †. Perhaps to be pronounced Tusua.
- (5). THURIM(A)K †.
- (6). AR-PUINI †.
- (7). AAPIZA †.
- (8). AAM(A)R-DK †. Compare the Amar-ski of Thothmes III. (No. 156).
- (9). TUNA †. Uskhitti of Tuna, which adjoined the country of the Tubal or Tibareni, paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III.
- (10). NABUR— †. Or Nabul.
- (11). IRP †.
- (12). KHANA †. The Khana-rabbat or "Khana the great" of the Assyrian inscriptions. Milid, the modern Malatiyeh, was its capital. The Tel el-Amarna tablets make it probable that at the time they were written it formed part of the kingdom of Mitanni or Aram-Naharaim.
- (13). TAZUM(A) †.
- (14). THUBTI †. Called Tubti below (*D.* ii. 18).
- (15). KAQTH †. Called Kagati above (*i.* 12).

South side of the pylon, facing right :—

LINE I

- (1). HIRNAM †. See above (*I. b.* 1).
- (2). R-BAN-TH †. Lebanoth. See above (*I. b.* 1).
- (3). B(A)IT (determinative of "house") AÂAN[T] †. The Beth-Anoth of Josh. xv. 59. See the Palestine list of Thothmes III. (No. 111).

- (4). QAR-BU[T ?]U †. The last character but one is doubtful. At the Ramesseum Qarbu[tu] is combined with Baitha-Ânthâ or Beth-Ânoth (Josh. xv. 59).
- (5). KARMÂIMÂ †. Karmim, the plural of the Canaanite *kerem*, "garden," called Karman by Thothmes III. (No. 96). It is the Carmel of Judah (Josh. xv. 55).
- (6). SHBUDUNA †. Called Shbtuna by Thothmes III. (No. 73), now Shebtîn.
- (7). MÂSHAB-IR— †. There may be a lost character before *i*.
- (8). KHIBUR— †. Hebron, as has long since been recognised.
- (9). INNU, with determinative of "water." The famous 'Ain or "Spring" of Hebron. See Josh. xv. 19, and compare the Palestine list of Thothmes III. (No. 113).
- (10). TO-R-B(A)-NA †, "the district of Libna." The Libnah of Judah (Josh. xv. 42).
- (11). AAP(A)QA †. Aphekah, near Hebron (Josh. xv. 53).
- (12). AAB(A)-KHI †.
- (13). MÂKTHIR— (with determinative of "house") †. A Migdol, doubtless Migdal-gad in Judah (Josh. xv. 37).
- (14). QAR-TS(A)-AK †.
- (15). QARIMÂNA †. The engraver has written *r* like *t*. Karmel of Judah, however, must be intended, as is shown by the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 8.
- (16). [Q]AUHER-TAB(A)LRA †. The engraver has omitted the initial character. "The upper district of Debir." See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 9.
- (17). SHMÂSHNA †. Ir-shemesh. See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 10.
- (18). HUDAS(A)-TH †. The first character is followed by the determinative of abstracts. The Hadashah or "new" country of Josh. xv. 37. See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 11.
- (19). AAR-TS(A)— †. The Canaanite *erets*, "land."
- (20). QAUNS(A)-LM[Â] †. Qau-n-salem, "the district of Salem" or Jerusalem. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets Jerusalem is called Uru-'salim, and a lexical

- tablet explains *uru* by the Assyrian *alu*, "city." The name therefore signifies "the city of 'Salim,' the god of peace. See Gen. xiv. 18.
- (21). Q<sub>A</sub>UL-THP(A)<sub>N</sub>A, with determinative of "lake." As the Dead Sea is the only lake in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and the Jordan it must be denoted by the name, "the lake of the district of Rethpana." See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 2.
- (22). AAR-DANA †. Pronounce Yerdana, the Jordan.
- (23). KHIR-TS(A) †. Probably to be read Khilz, the Assyrian *Khalzu*, "fortress."
- (24). QAR-HU (with determinative of abstracts) †. The Korkha of the Moabite Stone. See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 5.
- (25). U-L-U †. Each of the two vowels has the determinative of locality affixed. See the Karnak list of Ramses II., i. 6.
- (26). MAU, with the determinative of "walking." See the first Karnak list of Ramses II., No. 3.<sup>1</sup>

## LINE II

1. ĀKATA †. Perhaps Jokthe-el in Judah (Josh. xv. 38).
2. KAR-KA †.
3. [ ]PUTH †. Perhaps Zidiputa mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi I., the Zadphtl of the list of Shishak.
4. AAB(A)R— †. An Abel or "Meadow." Perhaps No. 99 in the Palestine list of Thothmes III.
5. Q<sub>A</sub>US(A)-RĀKH †. "The district of Sela." See the Karnak list of Ramses II., ii. 7.
6. Q<sub>A</sub>UHER-TS(A)-ASR— †. The last character is doubtful. "The upper district of Zasr (?)." In the Karnak list of Ramses II. (ii. 8), the term "upper" is omitted.
7. IĀAB(A)-AL †. After *āa* is the determinative of abstracts. A comparison with the Karnak list of Ramses II. (ii. 9), shows that the engraver has omitted the character *q*, the name being Yâqbal, or Jacob-el.

<sup>1</sup> The remaining names in this line are still covered with rubbish.

8. R-HUZA †. After *hu* is the determinative of abstracts.  
See the Karnak list of Ramses II., ii. 4.
9. S(A)-AAB(A)— †. Called Sabata in the Karnak list of Ramses II., ii. 5.
10. KA-TS(A)-TO †. Gaza.
11. LSHA-QADSHU †. Rosh-Qadesh, or Mount Carmel.  
See the Karnak list of Ramses II., ii. 1.
12. IN-ZATH †.
13. ÂN (determinative of "eye") N MGAR— †. "The spring of the Magoras," or River of Beyrout. See the Karnak list of Ramses II., ii. 3.
14. R-UIAAIR— (determinative of "walking") †. This would read Lui-el or Levi-el, a compound similar to Jacob-el, Joseph-el, and Jephthah-el (Josh. xix. 27). But it is strange to find the name of Levi in the neighbourhood of Beyrout.
15. BUR— †. "The cistern." The Bar or Beer ("well") of the list of Thothmes III. (No. 50).
16. QAMÂTU †. The engraver has written *q* in mistake for *t* in the last syllable. For Qamtu or Qamdu see the list of Thothmes III. (No. 8). It is called "the city of Kumidi" in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.
17. QUBUR-ÂA †. The determinative of abstracts follows *âa*. "Qubur the great." See above (*A. II.* 5th line, 3).
18. IHA †. See above (*A. I.* right, 6).
19. TUR— †.
20. S(A)-N-NUR †. Shinnur. Shenir was the Amorite name of Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9). It is written 'Saniru in the Assyrian inscriptions.
21. MÂN-DAR— †.
22. ZAB(A)B(A) †.
23. AAMÂTA †. Hamath. See the list of Thothmes III. (No. 122).
24. ZAUIR— †. "The plain" of Aram, called Pa-Zru by Thothmes III. (No. 154). Similarly in the Tel el-Amarna tablets Bashan is named Ziri-Basana, "the plateau of Bashan."
25. KR-NA †. See above (*A. I. b. 1*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The remaining names in the line are still covered with rubbish. Doubtless the name of Atu followed.

## C. On the north side of the pylon, facing left :—

## LINE I

1. QAUTAFU(?) [ ]U †.
2. [ ]A [ ] †.
3. IQU [ ]U †.
4. MANATA †.
5. QA(?)NRA [ ]N †.
6. DQUR— †.
7. IS(A)N-T[U] †.
8. B(A)K [ ]. This is probably the country of Bak mentioned by Ramses II. at Karnak after Mau.

(The four next names are destroyed.)

## LINE II

1. M(A)R-M(A)UR— †. See above (*B. south*, i. 8).
2. THR-KHIS †. The engraver has written *t* by mistake for *kh*. See above (*B. south*, i. 9).
3. AAMESTR-K †. See above (*B. south*, i. 10).
4. R-R-BUR †. To be corrected into Arkabr as above (*B. south*, i. 11).
5. KAQTH †. Written Kagati above (*B. south*, i. 12). The variations show that the names have been copied from different originals.
6. TS(A)-KNA †. Written Tsaknu above (*B. south*, i. 13).
7. P(A)R-BU †.
8. B(A)R-B(A)[R]TU †. Apparently the Brbrta of Ramses II. at Karnak (No. 2).
- 9 destroyed.
10. ATOKA †. Compare Anth(a)ka above (*B. south*, i. 5), written Atak[a] by Thothmes III. (No. 297).
- 11 destroyed.
12. [ ]AQANT[A] †.

Facing right :—

## LINE I

1. IUA †. The Iua of the southern list of Thothmes III. at Karnak (No. 43).

2. ZA[TH]A †. The Zath of the southern list of Thothmes (No. 44).
3. M(A)NZU †. Azemet in the list of Thothmes (No. 45).
4. ASPA †. No. 46 in the list of Thothmes.
5. APMU †. Called Pa-mu in the southern list of Thothmes (No. 47).
6. PUNT †. No. 48 in the list of Thothmes.
7. ÂHFU †. No. 49 in the list of Thothmes.
8. AMMESS †. No. 50 in the list of Thothmes.
9. MENSHAU †. No. 51 in the list of Thothmes.
10. ÂFUNH †. No. 52 in the list of Thothmes.
11. NURÂHU †. No. 53 in the list of Thothmes.
12. MZ[MENN] †. No. 54 in the list of Thothmes.
13. ÂH[UL] †. No. 55 in the list of Thothmes. Identified by Mariette with the Greek Aualitis.
14. AÂAZM[†]. No. 56 in the list of Thothmes.
15. MAM[THU †]. No. 57 in the list of Thothmes.
16. MBUTU †. No. 58 in the list of Thothmes.
17. KRKUÂ †.

## LINE II

1. STHBU †. No. 60 in the list of Thothmes.
2. AZTUM †. No. 61 in the list of Thothmes. See above (*A. north-west*, 7).
3. NUHTUM †. No. 62 in the list of Thothmes.
4. HKHA †. Called Hkfeh (*i.e.* Hkauh) by Thothmes (No. 63).
5. TUNT †. No. 64 in the list of Thothmes.
6. B(A)AA †. No. 65 in the list of Thothmes.
7. A(?)MST †. No. 66 in the list of Thothmes.
8. TO-TOUN— †. *To* is repeated four times. The corresponding name in the list of Thothmes (No. 87) reads To-to-to-sa.
9. TENNU †. *Ten* is followed by the ideograph of a bird resting against a stake. The reading shows what must be the pronunciation of the corresponding name in the list of Thothmes (No. 88), which has been read Thehennu by Dr. Brugsch.
10. HUÂT †. No. 89 in the list of Thothmes.

11. ZSS(A) †. No. 90 in the list of Thothmes.  
 12. TEP-NUKHEB †. "The end (of the road from) Nekheb,"  
 the modern El-Qab. The place must therefore  
 have been situated on the coast of the Red Sea.  
 13. B(A)KM(A) †. Compare No. 92 in the list of Thothmes.  
 14. MASI †. No. 93 in the list of Thothmes.  
 15. TO-SM(A) †. No. 94 in the list of Thothmes.  
 16. KHSKHT †. No. 95 in the list of Thothmes.  
 17. KABI †.

*D.* East side of the pylon, right side. The names in the first line are all destroyed. Facing left:—

## LINE II

1. B(A)RB(A)R SEP †. That is, Barbar ("bar repeated").  
 2. ΛAZUNA †.  
 3. ΛRTOKNA †. The Λartug (No. 39) of the list of Seti I.,  
 which follows the name of Tunip. For the suffix  
 -na see above (*B.* ii. 2).  
 4. Ā(?)TS(A)-KHAZU †.  
 5. SHAQAN †. With the determinative of "foreigner."  
 6, 7, and 8 are destroyed.  
 9. TA-S(A)-NA †. Compare *B.* ii. 4.  
 10 and 11 are destroyed.  
 12. [ ]ĀK †.  
 13. [ ]NA †.  
 14. [A]BIR— †. An Abel or "Meadow."  
 15 destroyed.  
 16. NUI[ ]M(?) †. With the determinative of "foreigner."  
 17. KHAZM(A)N †. With the determinative of "foreigner."  
 18. TUBTI †. Written Thubti above (*B.* ii. 14).

I add here the fragment of a list of places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III., engraved on the eastern wall of the second pylon at



Karnak, and published by M. Bouriant in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xi. 3, 4, p. 156.

## LINE I

1. GAT.
2. M(A)THN †. Mitanni.
3. KHASAT.

Facing right :—

## LINE II

1. M(A)THN[†].
2. LN-[R †]. Lal. No. 18 in the list of Ramses II. at Luxor.

Facing left :—

1. SENSEN[†].
2. PEHTMENNU †.
3. RRBL.

LETTERS FROM PHENICIA TO THE KING  
OF EGYPT IN THE FIFTEENTH  
CENTURY B.C.

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR

THE age and character of the cuneiform tablets found at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt have been fully described in former volumes of this series of the *Records of the Past*, as well as the principal results derived from their discovery. During the past winter all doubts as to the exact spot in which they were found have been removed by Dr. Flinders Petrie's excavations. These have shown that the cuneiform correspondence of the Pharaohs Amenôphis III. and Amenôphis IV. was stored, not in the royal palace itself, but in a building which adjoined it, and in which probably the scribe lived who was versed in the language and syllabary of Babylonia. Among the objects discovered by Dr. Petrie is a clay cylinder, round which runs the inscription eleven times repeated, "The seal of Tetunu, the servant of Samas-akh-iddin." Dr. Petrie's discoveries show that the fellahin led me to the right place when, a year

after the tablets had been found, they took me to a ruined building within the precincts of the palace, the bricks of which were stamped with the name and titles of Amenôphis IV. Khu-n-Aten.

The letters of which I here give translations for the first time have been published in the second part of the *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* (Berlin, 1890) by Drs. Winckler and Abel, and consist of the correspondence sent to Khu-n-Aten from Phœnicia. The letters are peculiarly difficult to decipher on account of the non-Assyrian forms and idioms which they contain, and which are probably of Canaanitish origin. As Dr. Zimmern has pointed out, we find, for instance, the first person singular of the perfect tense formed by the suffix *-ti* as in Hebrew, instead of by the suffix *-ku* as in the corresponding person of the Assyrian permansive. Here and there, moreover, a Canaanitish word is given by the side of its Assyrian equivalent. These words afford a fresh proof that Hebrew was originally "the language of Canaan."

Though the Phœnician letters have not the same Biblical interest as the letters from Southern Palestine of which I have given translations in the last volume of the *Records*, we may nevertheless gather from them several historical facts. They show that at the time when the correspondence came to an end, the Egyptian empire in Asia was breaking up. The enemies of "the heretic king"

were beginning to threaten him in Egypt, and he was unable to reply to the pressing requests of his Syrian governors by sending to them the troops for which they asked. The province they administered was surrounded on all sides by its foes. Ebed-Asherah, who seems to have been a Beduin chief, together with his sons, had allied himself to the Hittites, the Babylonians, and the people of Aram-Naharaim, was overrunning the land of the Amorites, and was capturing the Phœnician cities which lay to the west of it. Many of the kings who had been allowed, as at Sidon, Arka, and Hazor, to exercise their royal functions by the side of the Egyptian governors, revolted from Egypt, and Arvad sent its ships to join the enemy. Rib-Addu, the Egyptian governor of Gebal, was already old, and one of his letters seems to show that he was preparing to evacuate Zemar, the centre of the Egyptian government in the inland part of Phœnicia, and retire from the northern portion of the province. It was probably not long before the rule of Egypt ceased to be obeyed, not only in the mountainous interior, but also in the cities of the coast.

Among other interesting facts contained in the letters is the mention of a Yivâna or "Ionian," who was in the country of Tyre, apparently employed in the service of the Egyptian king. The name was, therefore, already known in the fifteenth century before our era, and justifies the belief of the Egypto-

logists that in Huinivu, or Uinin as it is written in Demotic, which represents the name of the Greeks in the bilingual inscription of the Rosetta Stone, we must recognise the Egyptian form of the word "Ionian." The name of Huinivu goes back to early times, since in one of the pyramid texts of the Sixth Dynasty, the Mediterranean is called "the circle which surrounds the Huinivu."<sup>1</sup>

The name of Rib-Addi, or Rib-Addu, is not very easy to explain. The second element in it is the name of the god Hadad, but it is not clear to what root the first part of the compound should be assigned. Probably, however, the root is *rib*, "to contend," so that the name of the Phœnician governor is precisely parallel to those of Jerub-baal and Merib-Baal (1 Chron. viii. 34), the signification of the compound being "Hadad has pleaded."

<sup>1</sup> Erman in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxix. 1. p. 39.

LETTERS FROM PHENICIA TO THE KING OF  
EGYPT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

42.<sup>1</sup> OBTVERSE

1. Rib-Addu sends
2. to his lord, the king of the world,
3. the great king, the king of the universe (?),
4. (whom) the divine lady of GEBAL<sup>2</sup> has known
5. alone; to the king my lord,
6. at the feet of my lord, my Sun-god
7. seven times seven I prostrate myself.
8. This year (certain) men into the presence
9. of the king, who (is) like the god ASSUR<sup>3</sup>
10. and the Sun-god in heaven, have come; <sup>4</sup>
11. they have reported to him: "The sons
12. of Ebed-Asherah<sup>5</sup> according to
13. their desires have taken <sup>6</sup> 2 horses
14. of the king and chariots, and
15. the men whom he sent have given (them);
16. and the IONIAN<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are those of the *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, pt. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gebal, the Byblos of the Greeks, now Jebel, twenty miles north of Beirut. The people of Gebal are mentioned in 1 Kings v. 18 (A. V. "stone-squarers") and Ezek. xxvii. 9. According to Philo Byblius, the "Divine Lady," or goddess of Gebal, was Baaltis.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed in ideographs, denoting "the god of hosts."

<sup>4</sup> Literally "are."

<sup>5</sup> Abdu-Asirta. In some instances the determinative of divinity is prefixed to the name of the goddess Asherah.

<sup>6</sup> Read *la-ku*.

<sup>7</sup> *Yivâna*. The word corresponds exactly to the Hebrew Yavan, since a Hebrew *yav* would become *yiv* in Assyrian, and is the earliest notice we have of Ionian Greeks. The Ionian in question probably came from Cyprus.

17. is on a mission<sup>1</sup> to the country of TYRE,<sup>2</sup>
18. for eight days
19. doing this deed
20. in it." They speak words
21. of accusation before the king,
22. the Sun-god. I am thy faithful servant,
23. and the news which (the king) knows
24. and hears have I sent
25. to the king my lord. *But* (?)
26. they (are) dogs,<sup>3</sup> and they have [gone]
27. into the presence of the household troops
28. of the king, the Sun-god. I sent [messages]
29. to thy father, and he [listened]
30. to his servant, and [thy father]
31. des[patched] the household
32. troops. The country was not taken.

## REVERSE

1. by Ebed-Asherah for [himself] :
2. it was<sup>4</sup> the property of the
3. governors, since I fought<sup>5</sup>
4. before them against him,
5. and they (were) always
6. strong, and the MISIANS<sup>6</sup>
7. brought the *straw* (?) of barley<sup>7</sup>
8. always; they did not *despise* (?)
9. the officer, since I collected horses
10. and (was) strong before them,
11. since we know that both strength and
12. existence (belong) to a strong king.
13. As yet they have not marched up (the country)

<sup>1</sup> LU-KIN. The signification is made clear by No. 52, line 7, *Rev.*

<sup>2</sup> ZURI.

<sup>3</sup> "Dog" is used in these letters in the sense of "minister" or "messenger." The idiom may be of Egyptian origin, as *sab*, "a judge," is represented in the hieroglyphics by the figure of a jackal or a dog.

<sup>4</sup> Read *i-ba-[sa]*.

<sup>5</sup> *Anazur*, literally "I defend."

<sup>6</sup> The *Misi* are doubtless the Mas'u or "infantry" of the Egyptian texts.

<sup>7</sup> *Ser[ti]*.

14. since I have despatched two men,
15. messengers, to the city of ZEMAR,<sup>1</sup>
16. and also the leader of all the men,
17. this one (here present), to bring back
18. word to the king of each one thing
19. as much as they have heard.
20. The two men by night
21. have carried (it), and by night
22. they have brought (it) back,
23. even the messengers of the king,
24. from the presence of the dogs.<sup>2</sup> If
25. the heart of the king, the Sun-god, at
26. [this] time they have engaged,
27. [this] year I shall dwell [in] my [city]
28. . . . . in thy heart
29. and the [horses?] . . . and the men . . .
30. The Beduin<sup>3</sup> are marching
31. away from the city of ZEMAR
32. [and] I defend the city,

## EDGE

1. and I have not given it up; and the king
2. will hear the words of his servant, and will send
3. ten men of the country of MELUKHKHA<sup>4</sup> and ten men  
of the country of EGYPT
4. to defend the city for the king,
5. the Sun-god, the lord of thy faithful servant.

## NO. 45. OBVERSE

1. Rib-Addu [sends to his lord,]
2. the great king, the king [of the universe (?)]

<sup>1</sup> The Zemar of Gen. x. 18, called Simyra by Strabo; now Sumra.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note on *Obv.* 26.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "the Plunderers."

<sup>4</sup> Melukhkha was the "salt," desert, which extended between the frontier of Egypt and the confines of Palestine. Compare the Biblical name of "the Salt Sea," Gen. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 12, etc.



3. (to whom) the divine lady of [GEBAL has given]  
 4. strength ; to the king my lord,  
 5. at the feet of my lord, my Sun-god,  
 6. [seven] times seven I prostrate myself. Still  
 7. the king, my lord, says : " For  
 8. what reason art thou sending him  
 9. to me ? " Behold me ;<sup>1</sup> there is no  
 10. governor in my service  
 11. from the city of ZEMAR, and still  
 12. the face of every one (is) towards me and the two men  
 13. of EGYPT whom I send  
 14. to Pharaoh.<sup>2</sup> There is no going forth, there is no  
 15. sending to the king ; there is no  
 16. man who will carry my letter<sup>3</sup>  
 17. to Pharaoh. Now these two men  
 18. will carry a letter to the king,  
 19. but I myself<sup>4</sup> go not forth. Always  
 20. am I afraid and turn my face  
 21. towards [the king] my lord. I send . . .  
 22. . . . . thy lord,  
 23. since he will go up (?) . . . I will send (?)  
 24. on the days . . . and I send  
 25. to Pharaoh, and he will send  
 26. and will cause soldiers to come<sup>5</sup> . . .  
 27. The officer has not taken Ebed-Asherah  
 28. along with his property according to my orders.  
 29. Words of accusation do I send  
 30. to my lord, and thou sayest : " Wherefore  
 31. dost thou send words of accusation ? "  
 32. If thou hearest my words  
 33. at my mouth, I will take Aziru like . . .  
 34. Behold me,<sup>6</sup> strong (is) my king !  
 35. Already this very year the sons of

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, " I say. "

<sup>2</sup> Literally " the Great House, " an exact translation of the Egyptian Per-aa or Pharaoh.

<sup>3</sup> *Dubbi*, literally " tablet. "

<sup>4</sup> *Anna*, which seems intended for *annu*, " this (man), " but it may be the Hebrew *ânîdh*, " indeed. "

<sup>5</sup> *Us-kara[bu]*.

<sup>6</sup> Or " I say. "

36. Ebed-Asherah the dog reckon
37. the cities of the governors of the king for [themselves]:
38. they have smitten the cities . . .
39. of Aziru, they have not . . .
40. the king, to their cities; they have not . . .
41. for themselves, from the city of ZE[MAR],
42. the city of ULLAZA,<sup>1</sup> the city of SAWA . . .
43. their chariots, the prince . . .
44. he sends the man . . . . .
45. soldiers . . . . .
46. the city of ZEMAR . . . . .
47. Aziru despatches . . . . .

## REVERSE

1. I am [at] the gate; the men . . .
2. to the country of EGYPT . . . . .
3. and he sent . . . . .
4. in their hand to me.
5. Constantly I have sent this man,
6. but I do not send [messengers] to the king.
7. Now these two EGYPTIANS
8. have come forth to complain to me,
9. and I cannot venture out. If this year
10. there are no household troops, then the provinces
11. will [fall] to the Beduin, but
12. if it is the wish of the king to save<sup>2</sup> them
13. I will send my household troops to
14. Yankhame and to Biri, (saying):
15. "March along with your governors!"
16. They have occupied the country of the AMORITES;  
in quietude
17. they have marched through it. This have I done of  
myself

<sup>1</sup> Ullaza, otherwise unknown, must have been in the neighbourhood of Zemar, the Simyra of classical geography, and the modern Sumra between Tripoli and Amrit. See Gen. x. 18. Sawa . . . may be connected with the mountain of Shaua mentioned in the *Travels of the Mohar*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ba-li-idh*.

18. along with Yapa-Addu and along with Kha[tip].
19. And the king will send . . . . .
20. . . . . all
21. the property which they have taken
22. from these men for the king.
23. Another man has not taken it for another.
24. We have been successful<sup>1</sup> for the king. Accordingly
25. the king will send a horse
26. to his servant, and I will defend the city
27. of the king. I have nothing at all
28. whatsoever; everything has been given away
29. to save my life; and as for
30. this messenger, the king shall send him in all haste, and  
shall furnish
31. guards to defend
32. his faithful servant and the city,
33. and (shall furnish) men of MELUKHKHA along with  
them
34. like the god Zi<sup>2</sup> of thy fathers.

*(The next seven lines are too mutilated for translation.)*

## EDGE

1. A man of YARI[MUTA].<sup>3</sup> At the gate I (stand). A  
. . . I send [to]
2. Pharaoh for the protection of the men of the country  
of MILU[KHA]; but thou dost not
3. hear; yet why is the king constantly sending
4. men of the guard [from] the country of MILUKHA to  
its defence?
5. They have not [surrendered] the city to the Beduin.

<sup>1</sup> Literally "one has been successful."

<sup>2</sup> There cannot be a reference here to the Assyrian storm-god Zu or Zi, as he was considered an enemy of the other gods, and we must therefore regard Zi as an ideograph. In this case it will mean "Life," the equivalent of the Egyptian *ânkh*. *Ânh* or "Life" was one of the titles of the Pharaoh.

<sup>3</sup> Yarimuta phonetically resembles Jarmuth (Josh. x. 3), but it lay on the sea coast, and was probably to the north of Gebal.

## No. 74

1. Rib-Addu says to
2. the king of the world, the great king,
3. the king *of the universe* (?), (to whom) the divine Lady
4. of GEBAL has given strength ;
5. to the king my lord ; at the feet
6. of my lord, my Sun-god seven times seven I prostrate myself.
7. Verily let the king my lord know <sup>1</sup> that
8. strong is the hostility of Ebed-Asherah
9. against me. Now the city which contended
10. against me . . . he has taken.
11. . . . . Again, what about
12. [Ebed-A]sherah the dog? And he has come
13. [against] all the cities of the king, the Sun-god ;
14. [*word*] to the king of the country of MITANA <sup>2</sup>
15. [and] the king of the country of the KASSE <sup>3</sup> he has sent, <sup>4</sup> since
16. he has . . . and has taken the country of the king <sup>5</sup> for himself.
17. [And now] again he has collected
18. all the Beduin against the city of SIGATA
19. and the city of AMBI, <sup>6</sup> and has taken also
20. [the territory?] of this city, and
21. there is no place which the Beduin have not entered.
22. [Make war?] against him ; seize
23. . . . .
24. . . . . Send me 400
25. [men] . . . . .
26. . . . . horses

(*The next five lines are too mutilated for translation.*)

32. [send] the household [troop]s to look after

<sup>1</sup> Read *li-i-di*.

<sup>2</sup> The Aram-Naharaim of the Old Testament on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, opposite Carchemish.

<sup>3</sup> The Babylonians, who were ruled at this time by a Kassite dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> *Supir*.

<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian king.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the Ammi of other tablets, the Ummah of Josh. xix. 30. But it may be the Aup of the Egyptian texts.

33. [the do]gs ; and gratuitously
34. again there have been handed over
35. the country of the king and the city of ZEMAR,
36. the city of your guard,
37. to the Beduin, and thou refrainest
38. from sending the household troops
39. (and) an officer, yet (so) thou wilt destroy
40. the enemies of the king from
41. all his country, and
42. all the provinces will be attached
43. to the king. Accordingly
44. do not thou, O great lord,
45. hold aloof from
46. this message.

## No. 72

1. [To] Khayapa . . . .
2. Rib-Addu [speaks] thus :
3. At thy <sup>1</sup> feet I fall.
4. O AMON,<sup>2</sup> the god who (is) su[preme],<sup>3</sup>
5. thou knowest thy light (is) in
6. the countenance of the king my lord, of whom,
7. behold, thou (Khayapa) art a dog,
8. the king knows (it), and in thy own person
9. the king has sent thee
10. as a Commissioner. Wherefore
11. dost thou delay and dost not
12. speak to the king
13. that he may send
14. the household troops and
15. that they may march
16. to the city of ZEMAR ? What
17. (is) Ebed-Asherah, the servant,
18. the dog ? yet he has taken
19. the country of the king for himself.
20. What (is) his origin ?
21. yet (he is) strong among the Beduin, strong

<sup>1</sup> Read *ka*.<sup>2</sup> *Amana*.<sup>3</sup> *Tsi-[ru]*.

22. (is) his power, and
23. he has despatched 50 convoys
24. of horses and 200 foot-soldiers,
25. and they are stationed in the city of SIGATA
26. in <sup>1</sup> his presence. Until
27. the household troops appear
28. he will not assemble all
29. the Beduin ; yet
30. he has taken the city of SIGATA
31. and the city of AMBL.

. . . . .

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NO. 60. OBVERSE

1. To the king my lord, my Sun-god,
2. speaks
3. Rib-Addu thy servant thus :
4. At the feet of my lord, my Sun-god,
5. seven times seven I prostrate myself.
6. The king my lord knows
7. that Salma-salla
8. the son of Ebed-Asherah
9. has entered the city of ULLAZA,
10. in order to strengthen the cities of ARDATA,<sup>2</sup>
11. YIBILIYA, AMBI
- 12, 13. (and) SIGATA, all the cities, for themselves,<sup>3</sup>
14. and the king has sent
15. a force to the city of ZEMAR
16. until the king shall give counsel
17. to his country in regard to
18. the sons of Ebed-Asherah
19. the servant, the dog.—The king
20. of the country of the KASSI,<sup>4</sup> and the king
21. of the country of MITANI<sup>5</sup> are strong<sup>6</sup>
22. and have taken the country of the king for

<sup>1</sup> Read *i-na*.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* himself and his brothers.

<sup>5</sup> Aram-Naharaim.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Arvad is meant.

<sup>4</sup> The Babylonians.

<sup>6</sup> I read [*da*]-*na-nu*.

23. themselves already,<sup>1</sup>  
 24. and they have seized<sup>2</sup> the cities

## REVERSE

1. of thy governor, yet thou delayest  
 2. in granting the request<sup>3</sup> [of]  
 3. thy Commissioner, and they have seized  
 4. the cities for themselves.  
 5. Now they have taken the city of ULLAZA.  
 6. If, therefore, thou delayest  
 7. until they have taken the city of ZEMAR and  
 8. also have slain the Commissioner  
 9. and the household troops  
 10. which (are) in ZEMAR, what  
 11. could one do? and I  
 12. could not march up  
 13. to ZEMAR  
 14. the city. The cities of AMBI,  
 15. SIGATA, ULLAZA  
 16. (and) ARVAD<sup>4</sup> are hostile  
 17. to me. They have plotted,  
 18. even they, that they shall enter  
 19. the city of ZEMAR,  
 20. even these cities, (and their) ships.  
 21. And the sons of Ebed-Ashe[rah]  
 22. (are) in the field, and . . .  
 23. . . . and . . .  
 24. [I?] have not marched up . . .

## EDGE

1. . . . and the city of GEBAL has acted.  
 2. Against the Beduin (and) against the city of ARVAD  
 3. I march, since its . . . has joined  
 4. the Beduin.

## NO. 61. OBTVERSE

1. [Rib-]Addu [the governor]

<sup>1</sup> *Sa-[su-nu] pa-na-nu.*

<sup>3</sup> Literally "favour [to]."

<sup>2</sup> *U [la-]ku.*

<sup>4</sup> *Er-va-da.*

2. [of the city of GEBAL] sends to
3. [his lord], the great king, the king of the world, the  
king
4. *of the universe* (?) (to whom) the divine lady of GEBAL
5. has given strength ; to the king
6. my [lord] ; at the feet of [my] lord, [my] Sun-god,
7. [seven times] seven I prostrate myself. Verily
8. the king my lord knows<sup>1</sup> that very strong (is) hostility
9. against us, since they say
10. [be]fore thee : (Still) belongs
11. the city of ZEMAR to the king ! The king
12. knows that our fortress has fallen ;
13. moreover the sons of Ebed-Asherah have taken it,
14. and there is no one to carry the news
15. to the king. But give counsel, since
16. thy faithful servant (am) I, and thee
17. verily do I hear. I have sent to [my] lord.
18. Prophecy (?), give counsel to the city of ZEMAR,
19. [which] like a bird which (is) in the midst of a snare
20. is placed : its nest
21. is very strong ;
22. and the messengers who
23. from BIT- . . . TETI [have come]
24. I have sent, and into the city of ZEMAR
25. they have entered<sup>2</sup> by night.
26. And Ya[pa]-Addu perpetually [lingers],
27. he does not advance with me.
28. The men . . . have arrived ;
29. they have ridden and know
30. how great (is) my faithfulness . . . . and
31. these Commissioners of the king
32. the king has sent to me, and
33. the king has spoken to them ;
34. and thou hast charged them that they should take
35. all that the king has given to his servant :
36. but the lord knows, as well as his son, at the present  
time
37. the king has taken everything for himself.

<sup>1</sup> Read *i-di*.<sup>2</sup> [*E*]ribti-sunu.



38. Moreover all the men who  
 39. had attached themselves to . . . .  
 40. . . . . all of them  
 41. along with me, and . . . .

## OBVERSE

1. wherefore . . . . .  
 2. against me ; nothing at all belonged to  
 3. them, whether (they were) two or three : thy father  
 4. furnished silver and listened to  
 5. the words of his faithful servant, and  
 6. gave abundance to his servant  
 7. and his handmaid the city of GEBAL : thou didst deter-  
 mine  
 8. to be kindly towards me, and as a son  
 9. I was with thee, and  
 10. I was at rest. Then Aziru and  
 11. Yapa-Addu accepted the word of their *king* (?)  
 12. in regard to me, but they did not march up [to take]  
 13. anything, and they acted  
 14. along with me. Continually is severe sickness<sup>1</sup>  
 15. upon me who fulfil all the . . justice  
 16. of the king from everlasting . . .  
 17. Moreover behold I am [thy] faithful servant  
 18. and sickness is upon me in consequence of  
 19. these words. Behold I am  
 20. the dust of thy feet, O king !  
 21. Behold thy father did not  
 22. entrust Aziru with [his] provinces  
 23. as his governor, and he was zealous [for]  
 24. the gods and the goddesses and the divine mistress  
 25. of GEBAL ; and [thou] didst sit  
 26. on the throne of the house of thy father, [and]  
 27. to the country of the KASI<sup>2</sup> attached themselves<sup>3</sup>  
 28. the sons of Ebed-Asherah, and [they]  
 29. took the country of the king for themselves ; [together  
 with]

<sup>1</sup> *Mari[ts]*.<sup>2</sup> The Babylonians.<sup>3</sup> *Yabisu[na]*. This line has been omitted by Winckler.

30. the king of the country of MITANA (were) they and the king  
 31. of the country of the KASI and the king of the country of the HITTITES.  
 32. The king sent the household  
 33. troops (and) Yankhamu together with  
 34. [the men] of the king<sup>1</sup> of the country of YARIMUTA  
 35. [and the] Commissioner of the city of KUMIDI<sup>2</sup> . . .  
 36. his [servant], and they took . . . . .  
 . . . . .

IN THE COLLECTION OF ROSTOVICH-BEY (No. 1902)

1. To [Am]an-appa my father  
 2. speaks  
 3. thus Rib-Addu thy son :  
 4. at the feet of my father I prostrate myself,  
 5. I say (and) repeat the report  
 6. to thee : thou hast not marched up  
 7. to take me<sup>3</sup> from the hand  
 8. of Ebed-Asherah. All  
 9. the Beduin (are) with him,  
 10. and the governors have not  
 11. heard anything ;  
 12. and they have sent to him,  
 13. and continually he (becomes) strong, and  
 14. thou repeatest the word(s) to me :  
 15. "Send thy man with me  
 16. to Pharaoh, for he has not obtained  
 17. (his) request ;" and I have sent him  
 18. together with a force to thee.  
 19. Until the household troops come forth

<sup>1</sup> So in Sayce's copy.

<sup>2</sup> Kumidi must be the Kamata of Thothes III. at Karnak (No. 8), which is named after Tubikhi in Northern Palestine, and shortly before Merom. It is written Qam'du by Seti I. at Qurnah, where it precedes the name of Tyre, while Ramses III. at Medinet Habu writes it Qam'tu, and places it between "the Spring of the Magoras," or river of Beyrout, and Shinnur (Shenir) or Hermon.

<sup>3</sup> It may also be translated : "they have not marched up : take me."

20. I defend thy life and  
 21. I say to thee : " I have not  
 22. sent all (the men), [and]  
 23. Ebed-Ashe[rah] has not heard  
 24. about it. This I have done (and) have escaped  
 25. from his hand." And thou say[est]  
 26. to me : " Do not depart,"  
 27. and thou repeatest the word to me :  
 28. " Send a ship to  
 29. the country of YARIMUTA and there shall come for thee  
 30. silver (and) cattle from it."  
 31. Now the men whom thou hast given  
 32. to me are all fled.  
 33. Now give counsel<sup>1</sup> about thyself, if  
 34. thou art able, unto me. Now  
 35. [the king] heard that  
 36. I have sent my man to Pharaoh,  
 37. and he spoke to the man, and he stood,  
 38. he remained near him, and I am stricken down  
 39. nine times. Now firstly I have committed  
 40. this offence, and I have committed a second  
 41. offence, which has happened to me, when  
 42. after one month no household troops came,  
 43. and I left the city,  
 44. and departed and  
 45. saved my life in order to  
 46. perform the deed which I desired.  
 47. This thou didst not know.  
 48. Accordingly the country of the Amorites day  
 49. and night thou visitest.  
 50. Do not send the household troops  
 51. to AKZABU<sup>2</sup> but speak to the king  
 52. that he enquire without delay.

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 No. 49. OBVERSE

1. [Rib.]Hadad says [thus]  
 2. [to] the king of the world, the great king,

<sup>1</sup> Read [*mî*]*lik*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Ekdippa, the Achzib of Josh. xix. 29; Mic. i. 14; now Zib.

3. [the lord] of the city of GEBAL :
4. to the king, [my] lord,
5. [at the feet] of my lord, [my] Sun-god,
6. [seven times seven] do I prostrate myself.
7. I say (and) I send a report
8. to the palace. My words [thou] dost not
9. [consider] and the report [thou] dost not
10. hear. Behold, the action
11. of the city of TYRE I do not fear.
12. Again I do not see the king asking
13. for his governor, even for my brother. The king
14. does not say : " My words (are) for their life."
15. If the king asks,
16. then will we turn our faces<sup>1</sup> to
17. go down to thee. I have done
18. my utmost,<sup>2</sup> [and] the city of TYRE
19. is before me.
20. Consequently their governor is exalted<sup>3</sup>
21. together with my sister and her sons.
22. The daughters of my brother I have sent
23. to the city of TYRE from fear of
24. Ebed-A[sherah] . . .

*(The rest of the Obverse is destroyed.)*

REVERSE

4. all the countries . . .
5. If for [my] brother
6. the king [my lord] shall ask [and]
7. a return to life [shall grant him]
8. he will send to the king his [lord].
9. They do not attend to his words
10. or in any way to ANU
11. his god. But if for my brother
12. thou shalt ask and shalt say :

<sup>1</sup> Literally " (there is) a giving of our face."

<sup>2</sup> Literally " power."

<sup>3</sup> I am inclined to think that the true reading must be *daku*, " they have killed," instead of *saku*, " exalted." In this case the translation would be : " Now (*all*) they have killed their governor."

13. "(As for) this city (there is) no governor; the king  
 14. has asked about him," we will not omit <sup>1</sup>  
 15. to do something. But we are afraid  
 16. if for the governor of the city of TYRE  
 17. the king shall not ask,  
 18. since great is his wealth. Like  
 19. an enemy am I (become). Again,  
 20. behold the palace of the city of TYRE,  
 21. there is no palace of any (other) governor  
 22. like this one; like the palace  
 23. [of the city] of UGARITA <sup>2</sup> is it.  
 24. Exceeding great is (the) wealth  
 25. [of the man], all of it. The king has heard  
 26. [concerning] it. He has sent a servant  
 27. [that he may] enquire, and he has left.  
 28. [Here] I re[main] and  
 29. [send?] to the governors, and

*(The next two lines are too mutilated for translation.)*

32. The Commissioner of the king . . .  
 33. [to] the hand of the king [of] the world.

## EDGE

1. . . . the king knows (and) sends.  
 2. They have taken [Ebed-A]sherah. His enemy  
 3. [is be]fore them, and before the place . . .  
 4. The king has . . . them. I have not sent(?) . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Nitebiru* from *cbiru*, "to pass over."

<sup>2</sup> The city of Ugarita is mentioned in another letter (No. 76, *Obv.* 4-6). "Since my lord has sent to his servants from the countries of Zalukhkhî (? Melukhkhî) and from the city of Ugarite they have marched." Perhaps it is the Akarith of the Egyptian texts. In the poem of Pentaur Akarith is mentioned between Anaugas (which Professor Erman has shown to be the Nukhasse of the Tel el-Amarna tablets) and Mushanat (possibly the Usanat of Shalmaneser II., see *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iv. p. 71, line 93). In a later passage of the same poem it comes between Carchemish and Qadi (the Kêtis of the Kilikian plain according to Professor Maspero), Anaugas following next. In a despatch from Yapa-Hadad to Yankhamu (Winckler, No. 128), it is said that "all the districts have gone after Aziru, from Gebal to Ugarit."

## NO. 47. OBVERSE

1. Rib-Hadad of the city of GEB[AL]
2. to his lord the king of the world,
3. the king *of the universe* (?),
4. (to whom) the divine mistress of GEBAL,
5. has given strength; to
6. the king my lord; at
7. the feet of my lord, my Sun-god,
8. seven times seven I prostrate myself.
9. Since they say [to the king]:
10. He has not . . . himself!
11. now . . . . . them among
12. . . . . my fathers,
13. the men [whom] the king protects,
14. I have not [injured?] them and the property
15. of the king [in] their [charge]. And such an one
16. (am) I. There is no possession
17. of the king in my [hands], and
18. there are no men of the guard
19. of the king in my [province]. I
20. (am) in my own territory,<sup>1</sup>
21. among the troops [of] my own [territory].

*(The next two lines are destroyed.)*

24. The men of the guard,
25. the men of the king, [my property]
26. have taken away as well as the pro[perty]
27. of the king in addition to it, and
28. here am I, without
29. the guard and without
30. the property of the king for
31. myself. And Pakhura<sup>2</sup>
32. has done a great (mis)-deed
33. against me: he has sent
34. men of the country of the 'SUTE<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Read *edini*.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian Pa-Hor.

<sup>3</sup> In the Assyrian texts the 'Sute denote the Beduin, more especially those who inhabited the eastern bank of the Tigris and the western bank of the Euphrates. They correspond to the Sati of the Egyptian inscrip-

35. they have smitten the SERDANI,<sup>1</sup>
36. and three men (out of them)
37. have not entered the country of EGYPT,
38. and for many days
39. thou askest the city concerning me ;
40. and thereupon
41. thou sayest : "The city has done
42. what it should not have done, acting
43. against me out of opposition ;"
44. and the king has heard
- 45, 46. the words of his servant and has sent
47. men (saying) : "Do not act."
48. [Of how] at that time
- 49, 50. they acted [I sent] my report accordingly.
51. . . . my life

## EDGE

1. . . the men before the king . . .
2. . . hear me. Now . . .
3. . . thus I sent to [the king]
4. . . . and I will return this year (?).

## NO. 48. OBVERSE

1. [To the king] my lord, the Sun-god of the earth,
2. [speaks R]ib-Hadad thy servant ; at the feet [of the king]
3. [my lord,] the Sun-god, seven times seven I [prostrate myself].
4. [I] declare to the king my lord [the messages]
5. which they have sent as follows to the king my lord.
6. But they have not listened to my words.

tions, who were primarily the Beduin of the Asiatic deserts east of Egypt. If Sati is a word of Egyptian origin, it would denote "archers," but the fact that it is identical with the Assyrian 'Sute, makes this doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> The Shairdana or Sardinians of the Egyptian monuments, a body of whom was incorporated in the Egyptian army. This passage shows that they served as mercenaries under the Pharaoh at least a century before the reign of Seti I., in whose time they have hitherto been supposed to have made their first entrance into Egypt.

7. Now three times have there fallen upon me these  
 8. *misfortunes* (?) and for two years (?) . . . .  
 9. I have no corn : corn to  
 10. eat unto me there is not. What is to be done <sup>1</sup>  
 11. for the men my allies? All  
 12. their sons, their daughters (and) their houses <sup>2</sup>  
 13. have been handed over to the land of YARIMUTA  
 14. in order to preserve their lives.<sup>3</sup> Again  
 15. the king my lord hears the words  
 16. of his faithful servant and sends  
 17. corn in ships and preserves  
 18. his servant and (his) property,<sup>4</sup> and he has despatched  
 19. 400 men (and) 30 convoys of horses  
 20. as a present to 'Suta,  
 21. and they will defend the city for thee.  
 22. Again since Yankhamu says :  
 23. "Thou hast given corn to Rib-Hadad,"  
 24. give [corn also] to him  
 25. [when] thou enterest [the city] of TYRE.  
 26. [Let] the corn, 30 men  
 27. [and . . convoys of horses be] his gift [like unto] my  
     [gift].  
 28. And this in the case of Yapa-Hadad :  
 29. . . . I have taken their silver,  
 30. and he has collected . . . ; ask him,  
 31. and he will say : "Everything (is) before thee ;  
 32. may one bless thee before  
 33. the king my lord, and he will give  
 34. corn [this] year [to] the country of YARIMUTA."  
 35. [For] he did not give corn formerly in the city of  
     ZEMAR,  
 36. [but now] he gives (it) again in the city of GEBAL  
 37. [for] the preservation of their [lives] until thou hast  
     preserved  
 38. thy city. May one [bless] thee

<sup>1</sup> If the copy is right, we must regard *sesu* as a shaphel of *esu*, "to make."

<sup>2</sup> That is, "households."

<sup>3</sup> Read *ZI-su-nu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Rasu*, if the copy is right, but I suspect that we ought to read *ali-su*, "his city."



39. [before] the king my lord. The [corn?] he will send  
 40. this [year], and men . . . .  
 41. . . . . Yapa-Hadad . . . .  
 42. . . . . and thou wilt preserve . . . .

## REVERSE

1. [O king, my] lord. There are no men in the city :  
 2, 3. send men of the guard [in all] haste : do not take  
 4. . . . . [at] my report tears  
 5. of water (are) to Yankhamu, and . .  
 6. he went to . . . to the sons  
 7. of . . la in [the country of YA]RIMUTA.  
 8. The king of the country of TA[RI]ZI marched  
 9. as far as the city of ZEMAR and came  
 10. marching as far as the city of GEBAL, and no  
 11. support [came to] him, and he returned  
 12. to his own country. Now they sent as follows  
 13. to Pharaoh at my request :  
 14. . . . . they returned  
 15. . . . . exists, and my sons  
 16. the request of my servant, and he knows  
 17. . . . . the king ;  
 18. [and] the king regards  
 19. his faithful servant ; as to  
 20. Ebed-Ashe[rah] . . . . .  
 21. and [they] pronounce his name in  
 22. [the presence] of the king, the Sun-god, since as for the  
     governor  
 23. his heart (is) with my heart ;  
 24. and he has destroyed Ebed-Asherah  
 25. out of the country of the AMORITES. Again after  
 26. the return of thy father from  
 27. the city of ZIDON, after those days  
 28, 29. the provinces went over to the Beduin constantly.  
 30, 31. I had nothing ; the king did not hear the words of  
     his servant.  
 32. He had [not] given men to defend  
 33. his [city]. He<sup>1</sup> did not assemble all

<sup>1</sup> Ebed-Asherah.

34. the Beduin, but he occupied the country of TYRE.  
 35, 36. . . . And at [that] time he sent troops  
 37. [and] destroyed [the enemy out of]  
 38. [the city of TY]RE, when they marched  
 39. . . . . and I (?)

## EDGE

1. . . . . enters. The woman Nu . . . sent . . . . .  
 2. . . . . before Milku-sub . . The handmaid of the  
 divine Mistress [of] GEB[AL] . . . . .  
 3. . . . . the king, until the handmaid . . . in . . . . .  
 4. . . . in the hand of his man ; [the king] my god . . .

## NO. 71. OBVERSE

1. Rib-Had[ad, the governor of the city of GEBAL,]  
 2. to the king, my lord, [the great king, the king of the  
 world,]  
 3. beneath the feet [of the king, my lord,]  
 4. seven times and seven times [I prostrate myself.]  
 5. I send, I repeat to [the king my message,]  
 6. and thou dost not give at[tention].  
 7. The king, my lord, does [not] hear the words [of his  
 servant],  
 8. though he sends [his] prophet<sup>1</sup>  
 9. to the house of the life of Pharaoh,<sup>2</sup> but . . . .  
 10. no men of the guard come marching  
 11. to him. Yet they see my [position]  
 12. that my eyes have not been given yesterday<sup>3</sup>  
 13. unto me like (those of my) brother governors.  
 14. And thou hast honoured me with a throne for a habita-  
 tion.  
 15. I have gone to the presence of Khamuniri,  
 16. and my brother is turned from me  
 17. in the . . . of the city of GEBAL

<sup>1</sup> *Isip*, as in line 21. We cannot read *tur-sip[ri]*, "messenger," since the syllable *ri* is wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "great house" or "palace." The expression "house of life" is borrowed from Egyptian.

<sup>3</sup> *Yum timilla*.

18. in order to give this city  
 19. to the sons of Ebed-Asherah,  
 20. since my brother has seen that  
 21. my prophet has gone away  
 22. (and) that the men of the guard (are) with him  
 23. (and) Yan-azni ; and continually  
 24. is he committing wrong and driving me  
 25. from the city. The king my lord  
 26. does not incline to this his deed.  
 27. Now I have not gone up and  
 28. down to the lands of EGYPT :<sup>1</sup>  
 29. I am old and sickness (is) heavy  
 30. upon my body, but the king  
 31. my lord knows that the gods of the city of GEBAL  
 32. are strong<sup>2</sup> and very active,<sup>3</sup>  
 33. and I *have given robes* (?) to the gods.  
 34. Never have I entered  
 35. into the presence of the king my lord ;  
 36. but now my son, the servant of the king my lord,  
 37. have I sent to the presence of the king my lord,  
 38. and the king has heard the words of his servant,  
 39. and the king [my] lord has given  
 40. the household [troop]s, and [has assisted]  
 41. [the city] of GEBAL,<sup>4</sup> but the  
 42. troops of the kingdom have not [ent]ered

## REVERSE

1. [into it]. I have sent [men]  
 2. into the midst of it and they have marched,  
 3. even the household troops of the king my lord,  
 4. to occupy it. Behold the son[s] of GEB[AL]  
 5. (are) men who love me : to the midst of the city  
 6. of the sons of the men of the kingdom, to the midst of  
 it,

<sup>1</sup> Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> *Qabsu*. This is Dr. Winckler's reading. My copy has *qadu-na*, "(are) with us."

<sup>3</sup> *Kharzu*, the Hebrew *khârats*,

<sup>4</sup> Written *Gub-ub-li-KI*.

7. the household troops come forth, and they have determined  
 8. after a day to capture it ; but  
 9. the city has returned to the king my lord ;  
 10. and my lord knows that I have confidence in him  
 11. since I guard the city  
 12. for my lord according to the direction of my heart.  
 13. Moreover the king my lord has not given  
 14. the city to the sons of Ebed-Asherah.  
 15. My brother is constantly hostile to the city  
 16. in order to give it to the sons of Ebed-Asherah.  
 17. The king my lord has not turned from  
 18. the city. If very abundant  
 19. (are) silver (and) gold in the midst of it for the temple  
 of its gods,  
 20. abundant (is) the wealth ; if they take it,  
 21. the king my lord, as they have done, will do  
 22. to his servant and will establish the city of PURUZILIM<sup>1</sup>  
 23. for my habitation. Now in the presence  
 24. of Khamuniri I have been since  
 25. the city was obedient. In the city of PURUZILIM  
 26. the sons of Ebed - Asherah were hostile, they were  
 afraid  
 27. when I went to the presence of Khamuniri.  
 28. As for the sons of Ebed-Asherah, since  
 29. they are powerful against me and there is no prince,<sup>2</sup>  
 30. the words of the king (are addressed) to me and a  
 command  
 31. to my lord : " Behold, the city of GEBAL (is) a hostile  
 city ;  
 32. much property of the king (is) within it, the possessions  
 of the city  
 33. (and) the men (which) I have given formerly." If the  
 king has spoken to  
 34. all in the city (and) country that they should go out,  
 there will be none to whom<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name probably means "the city of Iron."

<sup>2</sup> *Sari*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ana sasu*.

- 
35. the king can give orders for this work.
  36. Now thy servant, my son, have I sent to
  37. the presence of the king my lord, and do thou send  
him quickly,
  38. O king, together with soldiers (who) shall march to the  
city.
  39. If the king my lord shall strengthen me, and
  40. shall restore me to the city and to the . . .
  41. as before, for the king my lord [I will defend the  
property]
  42. of the king my lord within it, and . . .

*(The next seven lines are too mutilated for translation.)*

## EDGE

1. the household troops; and they have captured the  
men quickly [and]
2. the city in all haste; and they have marched to the  
city . . .
3. since the words (are) before the king. The king my  
lord does not speak
4. to the [city that] it is strong for this difficult work . . .
5. it is not strong before him who has acted against the  
countries [of the king],
6. the soldiers of the king my lord and the *paths* (?) of the  
king my lord.

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 NO. 89. OBVERSE

1. [Rib-Hadad sends to his] lord,
2. [the great king, the king of the world, to whom the  
divine lady of GEBAL]
3. has given strength,
4. [to the king, my lord: at the feet of the king], my  
lord,
5. my [Sun-god], seven times seven I prostrate myself.
6. The king my lord knows that
7. strong (is) the hostility of Ebed-Asherah,

8. [of the city of BARRA-]BARTI:<sup>1</sup> all my cities  
 9. [have gone over to] him. The city of GEBAL and the  
 city of [TY]RE  
 10. he has excited against me, and two [messages?]  
 11. [he has sent?], and he says to the citizens:  
 12. "I (am) your lord!" and the Beduin  
 13. have acted like the city of AMMI,  
 14. [and] they have done a misdeed unto [me].  
 15. The BARRA-BARTIYAN has left . . . . upon me;  
 16. [with?] him (are) the . . . TISU and the SERDANU.<sup>2</sup>  
 17. [And the king] does not know [that in] the pres-  
 ence  
 18. of Ebed-Asherah in the gate<sup>3</sup> one has done  
 19. this deed against me. Now  
 20. [here] I stay and wait in  
 21. my [city]. I have not gone up at any time  
 22. [to Egypt, but] I send to Pharaoh<sup>4</sup>  
 23. [in order that] they may bring back word.  
 24. . . . . [before] the god I humble myself<sup>5</sup>  
 25. [for the preservation] of my life . . . .

*(The three following lines are hopelessly destroyed.)*

REVERSE

1. . . . . for two months [they were] going  
 2. . . . . the household troops, and  
 3. . . . he did not slay . . . .  
 4. my . . ., and he took me . . . .  
 5. greatly, and what [could I do] against the men?  
 6. Now like a bird which is set in [the midst]

<sup>1</sup> As Ebed-Asherah seems to have come from the land of the Amorites, the city of Barra-barti would have been in that region. Perhaps the second part of the name is the Hebrew *berith*, "covenant." Compare the name of Barbartu in the North Syrian list of Ramses III. (*C. left*, ii. 8), above, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> For the Serdanu or Sardinians see above, p. 67, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Biba* seems a mistake for *babi*.

<sup>4</sup> *Bitu-rabu*, "great house," the Egyptian Per-âa or Pharaoh.

<sup>5</sup> *Ammakh[ats]*.

7. of a cage,<sup>1</sup> (is) their seat in the midst [of the city]

(The next three lines are too much destroyed to be intelligible.)

11. [They asked] mercy

12. [for] the preservation of their lives. Now

13. I have said to them : There have marched

14. the household troops, since slaughter

15. there has been none and they have given quarter. If<sup>2</sup>

16. none come, (and) during 2 months thou dost not [send]

17. the household troops, and hast not taken

18. Abed-Asherah, though he has taken two ci[ties],

19. yet the city of ZEMAR and the

20. governors are (still) strong . . . .

. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian [*khu*]*khari* being a rare word, the Canaanitish *kilubi* is added to explain it. The latter is the Hebrew *kelûb* (Jer. v. 27). *Khukhari* is one of the many words which were borrowed by Assyrian from Sumerian, being a compound of the Sumerian *khu*, "bird," and *khari*, "enclosure." It has the same form as *mu'saru*, "a cylinder," which, as the native scribes inform us, is a compound of the Sumerian *mu*, "name," and *'sar*, "writing."

<sup>2</sup> *As[sum]*.

# THE INSCRIPTION OF ASSUR-BÊL-KALA

TRANSLATED BY S. ARTHUR STRONG

ONE of the most striking and interesting of the monuments of Assyrian art, preserved in the British Museum, is the statue numbered 849. It is a nude female figure, sadly mutilated, so much so, in fact, that little more than the trunk remains: but the subject has been treated in a style and on a scale which at once arrest the attention of the observer accustomed to the draped formality and minute detail of the Assyrian craftsmen.

The back is covered by a partly defaced inscription which is no less important historically than the figure itself artistically, for it is the sole document bequeathed to us by Assur-bêl-Kala,<sup>1</sup> who more than a thousand years B.C. succeeded his father, the great Tiglath-pileser, as King of Assyria. The text is as follows:—

## TRANSLITERATION

1. êkal Assur-bêl-Ka[la] . . . sar kis[sati] . . .
2. apil Tukulti-apil-Esarra . . . [sarru?] dan[nu] . . .

<sup>1</sup> It is true that the King's name occurs on another small fragment (Layard, 73), which probably once formed part of a votive inscription; but in this case the remains are too scanty to enable us to determine with certainty either the character of the document or to whom it belonged.



3. apil Asur-ris-isi sar kis[sati sar As[surma
4. alamgâtê annâtê ki[rib?] . . . âlâni
5. u arrutê ina mukkhitsi akhiê . . .
6. munikir sidhriia u sumiia A[num u?] ilâni
7. Martu mikhits tsîri imakhatus

## TRANSLATION

1. The palace of Assur-bêl-Kala . . . King of the whole (world), [King of Assyria],
2. son of Tiglathpileser . . . the strong king . . .
3. son of Assur-ris-isi, King of the whole (world), King of the same Assyria :—
4. These images in the midst of . . . the cities
5. and cursings with the crushing of the side . . .
6. Whosoever alters my writing and my name the god Anu and the gods of
7. Martu with the crushing of the back shall crush him.

It will be seen that the text is so mutilated that whatever clue it may once have afforded to the meaning and purpose of the statue, lies now beyond recovery. The figure has naturally enough been called an Istar, though not a vestige of her name can be traced. If it were possible to conclude, from the use of the plural in line 4, that our example formed one member of a series, we might perhaps detect in it the sole surviving trace of some forgotten exploit or scheme of Assur-bêl-Kala. For we know that two centuries later Rammân-nirâri III. tried to introduce the worship of Nebo into Assyria, or rather to establish it there in a position of privilege; and he has left us a record of his pious purposes inscribed on two twin statues of the god. It seems, therefore,

not improbable that in a similar way Assur-bêl-Kala may have sought to found or to promote the worship of some special patroness of his own, either in Assyria or in the West, and that one of her effigies—unfortunately no longer recognisable—has accidentally come down to us.

But there is one feature of the text which stands out, as it were, in high relief from the surrounding obscurity, and that is, the mention of the gods of Martu, or the land of the Amorites: and though it by no means necessarily follows from this that the statue is that of an Amoritish goddess, and the work of an Amoritish craftsman, still, on the other hand, there is nothing to exclude the bare possibility of such an assumption, either in the style of the figure or in its history. But however this may be, there is one result that seems certainly to follow from the appearance in this place of the gods of Martu, namely, that Assur-bêl-Kala had not relaxed his hold over the regions of the West, which the prowess of his father had added to the Assyrian Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The text—originally published in the first volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Plate 6, No. vi., but with so many errors as to render it unintelligible—has been the subject of attempts at translation by Oppert (*Expédition*, i. 288) and

<sup>1</sup> [This fact would be emphasised by the rendering I prefer to give of the 4th line, where I divide the words differently from Mr. Strong, and would accordingly translate: "these images in the [countries], cities and villages I set up on *pedestals*(?)." In this case the images would have been specially intended for erection in Syria. *Alamgâtê* seems to be a foreign word.—ED.]

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Menant (*Annales*, 54). An account of the monument, with an amended edition and translation of the text, will be found in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1892.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have here adopted the readings *alamgâtê* (l. 4) and A[num] (l. 6) in preference to those given in the *J. R. A. S.*

## INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR ROBERT W. ROGERS

SENNACHERIB, in Assyrian *Sin-akhi-erba*, "The Moon-god has increased the brothers," ascended the throne of Assyria on the 12th day of the month Ab, in the year 705 B.C., succeeding to all the rights and honours of the great kingdom which his father Sargon had left. His reign continued, with many wars and frequent difficulties, until his life was ended by assassination in 681 B.C. (2 Kings xix. 37). Of all his campaigns against Babylon, Elam, and other places, none is so interesting to the Biblical student as the great campaign against Phœnicia and Philistia. This campaign is treated at considerable length and with much vividness in 2 Kings xviii. 13-xix. 36, and again in Isaiah xxxvi. 1-xxxvii. 37. Sennacherib's own account of this campaign is presented in the great Taylor prism here done into English, and a comparison of this account with the Old Testament story mentioned above would seem to give the main facts about as follows, each account mutually supplementing the other. The Kings of Phœnicia and Philistia, with Hezekiah of Judah

among them, made a coalition with the Egyptians and Ethiopians to throw off the Assyrian yoke and deliver themselves from tribute. Hearing of this confederacy in some way, Sennacherib speedily gathered an army, and marched by the usual route to Syria, suddenly appearing in the northern part of the land. His coming was so unexpected that the allies had not united their forces, and the skilful Assyrian was able to attack them one by one. He sent one body of the army toward Jerusalem, which met with immediate success in overcoming a number of cities of Judah, while the King himself led the other portion of his army towards Lachish. Hezekiah, fearing the army which was already advancing with victorious banners, sent ambassadors to Lachish with great gifts, and with protestations of his fealty to Sennacherib. Sennacherib, however, sent an army against the chief city, desiring to take possession of the city—a plan which did not succeed. Immediately afterwards the Assyrian army met the southern allies under Tirhakah (2 Kings xix.<sup>9</sup>), and the battle, as may be read between the lines of Sennacherib's account, was not a decisive victory. His campaign closed suddenly and without the usual long list of spoil—a lack which he attempts to supply by representing that the presents sent by Hezekiah to Lachish were sent to Nineveh.

The first of the two inscriptions here given refers to the same campaign as that which is described at length in the Taylor cylinder.

The Taylor cylinder has been previously translated into English by Talbot in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 135 sqq., and in the *Records of the Past*, First Series, vol. i. p. 33 sqq.; into French by Menant, *Annales*, p. 214 suivv.; into German by Hörning, *Das sechseitige Prisma des Sanherib in transscribirtem Grundtext und Uebersetzung*, Leipzig, 1878; and by Bezold, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. p. 80 ff. (Cf. criticism by W. Muss - Arnolt in *Hebraica*, vii. p. 56 sqq.) The original is a splendidly preserved prism of six sides, found by Colonel Taylor in 1830, and now in the British Museum. It is published in *W. A. I.* vol. i. pll. 37-42, and in autograph facsimile in Abel and Winkler's *Keilschrifttexte*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 17-21.

The translator's thanks are due to Professor Hilprecht, who has read this translation in manuscript, and made useful suggestions.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB

### INSCRIPTION ON A RELIEF<sup>1</sup>

1. Sennacherib, the king of the world, the king of  
ASSYRIA,
2. sat on his throne,<sup>2</sup> and
3. the spoil of the city of LACHISH
4. marched before him.

### THE TAYLOR CYLINDER

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the powerful king,
2. the king of the world, the king of ASSYRIA, the king of  
the four zones,
3. the wise shepherd, the favourite of the great gods,
4. the protector of justice, the lover of righteousness,
5. he who gives help, who goes to assist the weak,
6. who frequents the sanctuaries (?),<sup>3</sup> the perfect hero,
7. the manful warrior, the first of all princes,
8. the great, he who destroys the rebellious,
9. who destroys the enemies ;
10. ASSUR, the great rock, a kingdom without rival
11. has granted me.
12. Over all who sit on sacred seats has he made my arms  
great,

<sup>1</sup> On a magnificent bas-relief, now in the British Museum, representing Sennacherib on his throne, receiving the spoil of the city.

<sup>2</sup> *Kussi nimesi*, a doubtful phrase. The meaning of *nimesi* is unknown. It has been translated "lofty," "portable," "dwelling-place," etc. In Sennacherib, iii. 76, and iv. 8, below, *kussu* and *kussu nimesu* seem to be used without distinction. *Nimesu* is apparently merely an *epitheton ornans* (so Evetts, *ZA.* iii. 327) with *kussu*, "seat."

<sup>3</sup> *Sakhiru damqati*.

13. from the upper sea of the setting sun <sup>1</sup>
14. unto the lower sea of the rising sun <sup>1</sup>
15. the whole of the black headed people <sup>2</sup> has he thrown  
beneath my feet
16. and rebellious princes shunned battle with me.
17. They forsook their dwellings ; like a falcon
18. which dwells in the clefts,<sup>3</sup> they fled alone to an inac-  
cessible place.

- 
19. In my first campaign I accomplished the destruction of  
Merodach-baladan
  20. king of KAR-DUNYASH,<sup>4</sup> together with the troops of  
ELAM,
  21. his allies, near KISH.
  22. In the midst of that battle he left his encampment
  23. and fled alone, and saved his life.
  24. The chariots, horses, freight wagons, (and) mules
  25. which he left in the onset of battle, my hands seized.
  26. Into his palace I entered joyously and
  27. opened his treasure-house. Gold, silver,
  28. gold (and) silver utensils, costly stones of every kind,
  29. possessions and goods, without number, a heavy spoil,  
his women of the palace,
  30. *valets de chambre* (?), youths and maidens,
  31. all the artisans, as many as there were,
  32. the portable things of his palace, I brought forth and
  33. counted as spoil. By the power of ASSUR, my lord,
  34. 75 of his powerful cities, the fortresses of the land of  
KALDI <sup>5</sup>
  35. and 420 smaller cities of their environs
  36. I besieged, captured, and carried off their spoil.
  37. The ARABIANS,<sup>6</sup> ARAMÆANS<sup>7</sup> (and) CHALDEANS<sup>8</sup> of  
URUK,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lake Van and the Persian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> So Dr. Muss-Arnolt.

<sup>4</sup> Babylonia.

<sup>5</sup> In the south of Babylonia.

<sup>6</sup> Ur-bi.

<sup>7</sup> A-ra-mu.

<sup>8</sup> Kal-du. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 164, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> Biblical *Erech* (Gen. x. 10). Modern *Warka*, on the left bank of the Euphrates, in Southern Babylonia.



38. NIPUR,<sup>1</sup> KISH,<sup>2</sup> KHARSAK - KALAMMA,<sup>2</sup> KUTU,<sup>3</sup> and  
SIPPARA  
39. together with the inhabitants of the city who had  
committed transgression,  
40. I brought forth and counted as spoil. On my return  
march,  
41. the TU'MUNA, the RIKHIKHU, the YADAQQU,  
42. the UBUDU, the KIPRE, the MALAKHU,  
43. the GURUMU, the UBULUM, the DAMUNU,  
44. the GAMBULUM, the KHINDARU, the RU'UA,  
45. the PUQUDU,<sup>4</sup> the KHAMRANU, the KHAGARANU,  
46. the NABATU, the LI'TAU, ARAMÆANS  
47. who were rebellious, I conquered together.  
48. 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female,  
49. (7200)<sup>5</sup> horses (and) mules, (11,073) asses, (5230)  
camels,  
50. (80,100) cattle, (800,600) sheep,<sup>6</sup> an immense  
51. spoil, I carried away to ASSYRIA.  
52. In the course of my campaign, I received from Nebo-  
bel-shanati,  
53. the prefect of the city KHARARATI, gold, silver,  
54. tall palms (?), asses, camels, cattle  
55. and sheep, a great present.  
56. The men of the city KHIRIMME, a rebellious enemy,  
57. I cast down with arms, I left not one alive,  
58. their corpses I bound on stakes  
59. and placed them round the city. That district  
60. I took anew. 1 steer, 10 rams,  
61. 10 measures<sup>7</sup> of wine, 20 measures of dates, their  
first fruits,  
62. for the gods of ASSYRIA, my lords, I established  
for ever.

<sup>1</sup> Mod. *Niffer*, in Southern Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 218, 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cutha in 2. Kings xvii. 24, 30. Now Tel Ibrahim.

<sup>4</sup> Biblical Pekod (Jeremiah l. 21).

<sup>5</sup> The numbers given in parentheses are not found in the Taylor cylinder, but appear in various duplicate fragments.

<sup>6</sup> After "*sheep*" in Taylor cylinder, "*without number.*"

<sup>7</sup> *Imeri*, i.e. "donkey-loads," the original meaning of the word *homer*.

63. In my second campaign ASSUR, my lord, gave me confidence.
64. Against the land of the COSSÆANS,<sup>1</sup> and the land of the YASUBIGALLAI,
65. who in former times to the kings my forefathers
66. had not submitted, I marched. Over high wooded mountains,
67. a rough country, I went on horseback.
68. I brought up the chariot of my feet, with ropes.
69. A steep place I climbed like a wild bull.
70. BIT-KILAMZAKH, KHARDISHPI, BIT-KUBATTI
71. his cities, powerful fortresses, I besieged and captured.
72. Men, horses, mules, asses,
73. cattle and sheep from them
74. I brought forth, and counted as spoil ; but their small cities,
75. without number, I destroyed, wasted, and made like fields ;
76. the tents, their dwelling places, I burned with fire,
77. I reduced to ashes. I made that city BIT-KILAMZAKH
78. into a fortress, stronger than before
79. I made its walls ; the people of the countries,
80. the possession of my hands,<sup>2</sup> I made to dwell therein.
81. The people of the land of the COSSÆANS, and of the land of YASUBIGALLA,
82. who had fled before my arms,

## COLUMN II

1. from the mountains I made them descend,
2. in KHARDISHPI [and] BIT-KUBATTI I made them settle ;
3. in the hands of my deputy, the governor of ARRAPKHA,<sup>3</sup>
4. I placed them ; a tablet I caused to be prepared ;

<sup>1</sup> *Kassû*. They lived in the mountains on the east of Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> *Kishitti kataya*. *Kishitti*, from *kashâdu*, hence something that is "taken" by force, later a "possession."

<sup>3</sup> Hence the classical name of the district of Arrapakhtis, on the Upper Zab ; now Albak.

5. the victory of my hands which
6. I had gained over them I wrote upon it and
7. I set it up in the city. I turned about <sup>1</sup> and
8. to the land of ELLIPI <sup>2</sup> I took my way.
9. Before me Ispabâra, their king, left his strong cities,
10. his treasure houses, and fled
11. away. The whole of his extensive land I wasted like  
a storm-wind.
12. MARUBISHTI [and] AKUDDU cities
13. of his royal house, together with 34 small cities of  
their environs,
14. I besieged, took, destroyed, wasted and
15. burned with fire; the inhabitants, young, old, male  
and female,
16. horses, mules, asses, camels,
17. oxen and sheep without number I drove away and
18. I made his land desolate, and diminished it.
19. SISIRTU and KUMMAKHLUM, powerful
20. cities, together with the small cities of their environs,
21. the land of BIT-BARRU, in its entire extent,
22. from his land I separated and to the
23. land of ASSYRIA added. The city of ILINZASH
24. I made the capital and fortress of that territory and
25. changed its former name;
26. KAR-SENNACHERIB I named it.
27. The people of the lands, the possession of my hands,  
I made to dwell there.
28. In the hands of my deputy, the governor of  
KHARKHAR,<sup>3</sup>
29. I placed them, and widened my territory. On my return
30. I received from the land of MEDIA,<sup>4</sup> far away, of  
which land

<sup>1</sup> *Pa-an niri-ya u-tir-ma, lit.* "I turned my yoke."

<sup>2</sup> [Ellipi was the country of which Ekbatana was subsequently the centre, the Media of classical antiquity.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> [Kharkhar adjoined Ellipi on the north-east.—ED.]

<sup>4</sup> *Madai.* [It must be remembered that the Medes spoken of by Sennacherib did not as yet inhabit the district of which Ekbatana subsequently became the capital. Hence the title of "far off," applied to them here.—ED.]

31. no one of my fathers had heard the name,  
 32. a heavy tribute.  
 33. I placed them beneath the yoke of my lordship.
- 
34. In my third campaign I marched to the land of the  
 HITTITES.<sup>1</sup>  
 35. Elulæus,<sup>2</sup> king of SIDON, was overcome by the fear of  
 the splendour  
 36. of my lordship and fled far away  
 37. to the sea and there made his abode (?).  
 38. GREAT SIDON, LITTLE SIDON,  
 39. BIT-ZITTI, SAREPTA,<sup>3</sup> MAKHALLIBA,  
 40. USHU,<sup>4</sup> EKDIPPA,<sup>5</sup> AKKO,<sup>6</sup>  
 41. his powerful cities, fortresses, pastures  
 42. and cisterns, and his fortifications, the power of the  
 arms  
 43. of ASSUR, my lord, overcame and cast at  
 44. my feet. Ethobal<sup>7</sup> upon the royal throne  
 45. I placed over them and a tribute of my lordship,  
 46. yearly and unchangeable, I set upon him.  
 47. Menahem of the city of SAMSIMURUNA  
 48. Ethobal of SIDON  
 49. Abdili'ti of ARVAD  
 50. Urumilki of BYBLOS<sup>8</sup>  
 51. Mitinti of ASHDOD  
 52. Buduilu of BETH-AMMON  
 53. Kammusu-nadab of MOAB  
 54. Malik-rammu<sup>9</sup> of EDOM,  
 55. all kings of the west land,  
 56. brought rich presents, heavy gifts with merchandise,

<sup>1</sup> "The land of the Hittites" had now become a generic title, signifying Syria generally. The Hittite kingdoms at Carchemish and elsewhere had now ceased to exist.

<sup>2</sup> Luli. <sup>3</sup> *Tsariptu*.

<sup>4</sup> For Ushu, see *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. v. p. 88, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Akzibu*.

<sup>6</sup> Now Acre.

<sup>7</sup> Tu-ba'-lu.

<sup>8</sup> Gu-ub-la-ai. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iii. p. 71, note 9.

<sup>9</sup> [I should read *Â-rammu*, the name of the god being *Â*. See my Hibbert Lectures on the *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 178.—ED.]

57. before me, and kissed my feet.  
 58. And Tsidqa, the King of ASHKELON,  
 59. who had not submitted to my yoke, I brought out, the  
     gods of the house of his fathers,  
 60. himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers,  
 61. the seed of the house of his fathers, and took them to  
     ASSYRIA.  
 62. Sharru-ludari, the son of Rukibti, their former king,  
 63. I established over the people of ASHKELON ; the giving  
     of tribute,  
 64. a present to my lordship, I put upon him, (and) he  
     bears my yoke.  
 65. In the course of my campaign BETH-DAGON,  
 66. JOPPA, BENEBARQA,<sup>1</sup> AZURU,  
 67. the cities of Tsidqa, which had not quickly  
 68. thrown themselves at my feet, I besieged, I took, I  
     carried away their spoil.  
 69. The governors, chiefs, and people of EKRON  
 70. who had cast Padi, their king according to Assyrian  
     right and oath,  
 71. into iron chains, and had, in hostile manner, given  
     him  
 72. to Hezekiah of JUDAH—he shut him up in prison—  
 73. feared in their hearts. The kings of EGYPT  
 74. called forth the archers, chariots (and) horses of the  
     king of MELUKHKHI,<sup>2</sup>  
 75. a force without number, and came  
 76. to their help ; before the city of ELTEKEH<sup>3</sup>  
 77. they arranged their battle array, appealing  
 78. to their weapons. With the help of ASSUR, my lord,  
 79. I fought with them and accomplished their defeat.  
 80. The chief of the chariots and the sons of the king of  
     EGYPT  
 81. and the chief of the chariots of the king of MELUKHKHI  
     my hands  
 82. took alive in the fight. ELTEKEH (and)

<sup>1</sup> The Beni-berak of Josh. xix. 45.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 52, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Altakû ; Josh. xix. 44 ; xxi. 23.

83. TIMNATH<sup>1</sup> I besieged, I took, and carried away their spoil.

## COLUMN III

1. To the city of EKRON I went ; the governors
2. (and) princes, who had committed a transgression, I killed and
3. bound their corpses on poles around the city.
4. The inhabitants of the city, who had committed sin and evil
5. I counted as spoil ; to the rest of them
6. who had committed no sin and wrong, who had
7. no guilt, I spoke peace. Padi
8. their king, I brought forth from the
9. city of JERUSALEM ;<sup>2</sup> upon the throne of lordship over them
10. I placed him. The tribute of my lordship
11. I laid upon him. But Hezekiah<sup>3</sup>
12. of JUDAH, who had not submitted to my yoke,
13. I besieged 46 of his strong cities, fortresses, and small cities
14. of their environs, without number, (and)
15. by casting down the walls (?) and advancing the engines,
16. by an assault of the light-armed soldiers, by breaches,<sup>4</sup> by striking and by axes (?)
17. I took them ; 200,150 men, young (and) old, male and female,
18. horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen
19. and sheep without number I brought out from them,
20. I counted them as spoil. (Hezekiah) himself I shut up like a caged bird in JERUSALEM
21. his royal city ; the walls I fortified

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. xxxviii. 12 ; Josh. xv. 10 ; Judg. xiv. 1, etc. The place is now called Tibneh.

<sup>2</sup> Ursalimmu.

<sup>3</sup> Khazaqiau.

<sup>4</sup> *Pil-shi*, "hole," "breach." Professor Sayce reads *Billim*, and translates "mounds" (?). See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 168, line 53. The Rev. V. Scheil translates "hole." See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iv. p. 77, col. v. line 1. For meaning cf. *W. A. I.*, vol. v. 36, line 24 sqq., where it is a syn. of *shuplu*.

- 
22. against him (and) whosoever came out of the gates of the city, I turned
23. back. His cities, which I had plundered, I divided from his land
24. and gave them to Mitinti, king of ASHDOD,
25. to Padi, king of EKRON, and to Tsil-Bal,
26. king of GAZA, and (thus) diminished his territory.
27. To the former tribute, paid yearly,
28. I added the tribute of alliance of my lordship and
29. laid that upon him. Hezekiah himself
30. was overwhelmed by the fear of the brightness of my lordship ;
31. the ARABIANS and his other faithful warriors
32. whom, as a defence for JERUSALEM his royal city
33. he had brought in, fell into fear.
34. With 30 talents of gold (and) 800 talents of silver, precious stones,
35. *gukhli daggassi* (?), large lapis lazuli,
36. couches of ivory, thrones<sup>1</sup> of ivory,
37. ivory, *usu* wood, box wood (?), of every kind, a heavy treasure,
38. and his daughters, his women of the palace,
39. the young men and young women, to NINEVEH, the city of my lordship,
40. I caused to be brought after me, and he sent his ambassadors
41. to give tribute and to pay homage.
- 

42. In my fourth campaign ASSUR my lord, gave me confidence.
43. I summoned my masses of troops ; to the land of BIT-YAKIN<sup>2</sup>
44. I made them march. In the course of my campaign
45. I accomplished at BITTUTU the overthrow of
46. Shuzub, the Chaldean, who dwelt in the marsh land.
47. He was overcome by the fear of my battle line,

<sup>1</sup> *Kussi nimesi*. See above, p. 83, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of Merodach-baladan, in the marshes in the south of Babylonia.

- 
48. he lost heart, like a bird he fled alone,  
 49. his trace was seen no more. I turned about,  
 50. to the land of BIT-YAKIN I took the road.  
 51. Merodach-baladan, whose overthrow, in the course  
 52. of my first campaign, I had accomplished and  
 53. his power dispersed, feared the war cry of my powerful  
     arms  
 54. and the advance of my strong battle line, and  
 55. the gods who ruled his land he moved in their shrines,  
     on ships  
 56. he embarked them; to the city of NAGITTU, in the  
     swamps,  
 57. by the sea coast, he fled like a bird. His brothers,  
     the seed of his fathers,  
 58. whom he left by the sea, together with the remaining  
     people of this land,  
 59. from BIT-YAKIN, marsh and meadow land,  
 60. I brought them out, counted them slaves. I returned  
     and destroyed his cities;  
 61. I wasted them, and made them like ploughed land.  
     Upon his confederate,  
 62. the king of ELAM, I poured out fury.  
 63. On my return march I made Asur-nadin-sum, my first-  
     born son,  
 64. the scion of my knees, sit upon the throne of his lord-  
     ship and  
 65. the broad land of SUMIR and AKKAD I made subject  
     to him.
- 

66. In my fifth campaign the men of TUMURRI (?),  
 67. SARUM, ISAMA, KIBSU, KHALBADA,  
 68. QUA and QANA, whose dwellings, like the nest of the  
     eagle  
 69. the king of birds, were located upon the pinnacle of  
     NIPUR (?),<sup>1</sup>  
 70. the steep mountain, had not yielded to my yoke.  
 71. At the foot of mount NIPUR I placed my camp,  
 72. with my followers drawn up

<sup>1</sup> [Mount Taurus.—Ed.]



73. and my unrelenting warriors,  
 74. I, like a strong wild ox, took the lead.  
 75. Clefts, ravines, mountain torrents, difficult high floods  
 76. in a chair<sup>1</sup> I crossed, places impassable for the chair  
 77. I went down on foot, like an ibex I climbed to the high  
     peaks  
 78. against them, wherever my knees  
 79. had a resting-place, I sat down on a rock ;  
 80. waters of cold streams, for my thirst, I drank.  
 81. Upon the peaks of wooded mountains I pursued them,  
 82. I accomplished their destruction ; their cities I took.

## COLUMN IV

1. I took away their spoil, destroyed, wasted and burned  
     them with fire.  
 2. I turned about and against Maniae,  
 3. king of the city of UKKI, in the land of DAIE,<sup>2</sup> yet  
     unconquered, I took the road.  
 4. Into the unopened path, the steep roads before  
 5. impassable mountains, before me  
 6. had no one of the former kings marched.  
 7. At the foot of ANARA and UPPA, powerful mountains,  
 8. I placed my camp, and I, upon my chair,<sup>3</sup>  
 9. with my unrelenting warriors,  
 10. entered, with weariness, into their narrow passes.  
 11. With difficulty I climbed the peaks of the steep  
     mountains.  
 12. Maniae saw the dust of my soldiers'  
 13. feet, forsook UKKU, his royal city  
 14. and fled far away. I besieged and took UKKU.  
 15. I took his spoil of all sorts, property and possessions ;  
 16. the treasure of his palace I brought out  
 17. from it and counted as spoil and 33  
 18. cities of the borders of his territory I took. People,  
     asses,

<sup>1</sup> *Kussû*, usually = "throne."

<sup>2</sup> [In the neighbourhood of the modern Melasgherd, on the Murad Chai, in Western Armenia.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> *Kussi nîmedi*.

- 
19. cattle and sheep I brought forth  
 20. from them. I destroyed, wasted and burned them  
 with fire.
- 
21. In my sixth campaign, the remaining inhabitants of  
 BIT-YAKIN  
 22. who had fled before my powerful arms, like  
 23. wild asses (and) had moved the gods, who rule their  
 lands,  
 24. in their shrines (and) had crossed over the great sea  
 25. of the setting sun and had set their homes in NAGITU  
 26. of the land of ELAM, (therefore) upon ships of the  
 HITTITES<sup>1</sup> I crossed the sea.  
 27. NAGITU, NAGITU-DIBINA, with KILMU,  
 28. PILLATU and the land of KHUPAPANU, districts  
 29. of the land of ELAM I took. The people of BIT-  
 YAKIN, with their gods,  
 30. and the people of the King of ELAM I took, and left  
 behind no settler.  
 31. In ships I brought them; over to the coast  
 32. on this side I made them cross and take the road to  
 ASSYRIA.  
 33. The cities of those districts I destroyed, wasted,  
 34. burned with fire and made them heaps and plough-  
 land.  
 35. On my return Shuzub, of BABYLON,  
 36. who, through an attack on the land, had seized  
 37. the lordship of SUMER and AKKAD, in open battle  
 38. I defeated, I took him alive with my own hand,  
 39. in fetters and bands of iron I put him, and to ASSYRIA  
 40. I brought him. The king of ELAM, who had helped  
 him  
 41. and marched to his aid, I overcame;  
 42. his power I scattered, I broke down his army.
- 
43. In my seventh campaign ASSUR, my lord, gave me  
 confidence.  
 44. To the land of ELAM I marched. BIT-KHAIRI

<sup>1</sup> That is, Syrians. See above, p. 88, note 1.

45. (and) RASA, cities of the ASSYRIAN territory  
 46. which, in the reign of my fathers, the ELAMITES had  
     torn away by force,  
 47. in the course of my campaign I took, and seized their  
     spoil.  
 48. My royal warriors I took into them.  
 49. To the territory of ASSYRIA I returned them and  
 50. gave them into the hands of the chief of KHALTSU  
     DUR-SAMI-IRTSITI.  
 51. The cities of BUBI, DUNNISAMAS (?), BIT-RISIA,  
 52. BIT-UKLAME, DURU, DANTI-SULAI,  
 53. SILIPTU, BIT-ASUSI, KARMUBASA,  
 54. BIT-GISSI, BIT-KAPPALANI, BIT-IMBIA,  
 55. KHAMANU, BIT-ARRABI, BURUTU,  
 56. DINTU-SA-SULAI, DINTU-  
 57. SA-TUR(?)BITITIR, KHAR(?)RIASLAKI, RABAI,  
 58. RASU, AKKABARINA, TILUKHURI,  
 59. KHAMRANU, NADITU, with the cities at the entrance  
 60. towards BIT-BUNAKI, TIL-KHUMBI, DINTU-SA-  
 61. DUMEAN, BIT-UBIA, BALTILISIR,  
 62. TAGALLISIR, SANAKIDATI,  
 63. MASUTU-SAPLITU, SARKHUDERI, ALUM-SA-TARBIT,  
 64. BIT-AKHIDDINA, ILTEUBA, 34 powerful cities  
 65. and the smaller cities in their environs  
 66. without number, I besieged, took, and carried off their  
     spoil,  
 67. I destroyed, wasted, and burned them with fire.  
 68. With the smoke of their burning, like a dark cloud  
 69. I covered the face of the broad heaven. When  
     Kudur-Nakhundu,  
 70. the ELAMITE, heard of the taking of his cities, fear  
 71. overcame him. He made his remaining cities  
     fortresses.  
 72. He left MADAKTI, his royal city, and  
 73. to KHAILDALA, which is among the far away mountains,  
 74. took his way. To MADAKTI, his royal city,  
 75. I ordered the march. In the month Tebet, a great  
     cold  
 76. set in, the heaven poured down rain,

77. rain upon rain and snow ; streams and torrents  
 78. from mountains I feared. I turned about and  
 79. took the road to NINEVEH. In those days,  
 80. by command of ASSUR, my lord, Kudur-Nakhundi,

## COLUMN V

1. the king of ELAM did not live three months.  
 2. On a day not destined (for him) he died suddenly.  
 3. After him Ummam-minanu, without judgment and  
 intelligence,  
 4. his younger brother, set himself on his throne.
- 
5. In my eighth campaign, after Suzub had been carried  
 off,  
 6. and the people of BABYLON, evil devils, had closed  
 their city gates,  
 7. their heart planned the making of a rebellion.  
 8. Around Suzub, the CHALDEAN, the wicked (?), the  
 base (?)  
 9. who has no strength (?), a vassal under the control of  
 the governor  
 10. of LAKHIRU, the fugitive (?), the deserter,  
 11. the bloodthirsty, they gathered and  
 12. marched into the marsh land and made a revolt.  
 13. I surrounded them with an army (?) and threatened  
 his life.  
 14. On account of terror and distress he fled to ELAM.  
 15. As infamy and wrong were around him  
 16. he hastened from ELAM and entered BABYLON.  
 17. The BABYLONIANS illegitimately set him on  
 18. the throne and the lordship of SUMER and AKKAD  
 entrusted to him.  
 19. The treasure-house of E-SAGGIL they opened, and the  
 gold and silver  
 20. of BEL (and) ZARBANIT, which they brought from their  
 temples,  
 21. they gave as a bribe to Umman-minanu, the king of  
 ELAM, who was without  
 22. judgment and insight, (saying to him):

23. "Assemble thy army, gather thy forces,
24. hasten to BABYLON, help us,
25. our confidence art thou." He, the ELAMITE,
26. whose cities, in the course of my former campaign
27. against ELAM I had taken, and turned into plough-  
land,
28. took no thought, he received the bribe from them and
29. assembled his soldiers and forces ; his chariots, (and)  
baggage wagons
30. he brought together, horses and mules he placed in  
spans.
31. The lands of PARSUAS, ANZAN, PASIRU, ELLIPI,
32. IAZAN, LAGABRA, KARZUNU,
33. DUMUQU, SULAI, SAMUNU,
34. the son of Merodach-baladan, BIT-ADINI, BIT-AMUK-  
KANA,
35. BIT-SILLANA, BIT-SALUDUDAKKI, LAKHIRU,
36. the PUQUDU, the GAMBULUM, the KHALATU, the  
RUUA,
37. the UBULUM, the MALAKHU, the RAPIQU,
38. the KHINDARU, the DAMUNU, a great confederation,
39. he called unto him. Their great throng took the
40. road to AKKAD and came to BABYLON.
41. Together with Suzub the CHALDEAN, king of BABYLON,
42. they made an alliance and united their forces,
43. like a great swarm of locusts, on the surface of the  
earth ;
44. together, they came to do battle
45. against me. The dust of their feet was like a storm
46. by which the wide heavens are covered with
47. thick clouds. Before me in the city of KHALULI,
48. on the banks of the TIGRIS, the line of battle was  
drawn up.
49. Before me they stationed themselves, they brandish (?)  
their arms.
50. I prayed to ASSUR, SIN, SAMAS, BEL, NEBO, NERGAL,
51. ISTAR of NINEVEH, ISTAR of ARBELA, the gods of my  
confidence,
52. to overcome my powerful enemy.

- 
53. My prayers they quickly heard, they came  
54. to my help. Like a lion I raged and put on  
55. my cuirass and with my helmet, sign of war,  
56. I covered my head. Into my high war chariot  
57. which wipes out the refractory, with the fury of my  
heart  
58. I climbed quickly. The powerful bow,  
59. which ASSUR had entrusted to me, I seized,  
60. the javelin which destroys life I seized with my hand.  
61. Against all the troops, evil enemies,  
62. oppressed (?) I roared like a lion, like RAMMAN I  
raged.  
63. At the command of ASSUR, the great lord, my lord,  
on flank and front  
64. like the advance of a wild flood, upon the enemy, I  
fell.  
65. With the confidence of ASSUR, and the advance of my  
powerful  
66. line of battle I struck their front and brought about  
67. their retreat. The hostile forces with arrow and lance  
68. I destroyed, through the mass of their corpses I cleared  
my way (?).  
69. Khumba-nudasa, chief  
70. of the king of ELAM, a careful champion, who ruled  
71. his troops, in whom he had great confidence, him,  
together with his chief men,  
72. whose girdle dagger was embossed with gold, and  
whose wrists  
73. were bound with double bracelets of shining gold,  
74. like fat steers, laid in chains,  
75. I quickly destroyed, and accomplished their defeat.  
76. Their necks I cut off like lambs,  
77. their precious lives I cut through like a knot ;  
78. like a heavy rain, their trophies and arms (?)  
79. I scattered over the wide field.  
80. The chargers of my chariot  
81. swam in the masses of blood as in a river  
82. crushing evil and bad,  
83. blood and filth ran down its wheel.

- 
84. With the corpses of their warriors, as with herbs (?)  
 85. I filled the field. I cut off their testicles.

## COLUMN VI

1. Their pudenda I tore from them like the seed of
  2. cucumbers. I cut off their hands.
  3. The bracelets (?) of gold and silver, which were on their  
arms I took off.
  4. With sharp swords I cut off their noses (?).
  5. The gold and silver girdle daggers, which they carried,  
I took away.
  6. The rest of his officers, and Nabu-sum-iskun
  7. the son of Merodach-baladan, who feared
  8. my line of battle, but had gone with them, in the midst
  9. of the battle I seized them alive, with my hands.  
Their chariots,
  10. with their horses, whose drivers, in the onset of battle,
  11. had been killed, while they were left
  12. and went up and down by themselves,
  13. (these) I turned together. Until the fourth hour of  
the night it went on.
  14. Then I stopped their slaughter. Umman-minanu,
  15. king of ELAM, together with the king of BABYLON, the  
princes
  16. of CHALDEA, who had helped them, the vehemence of  
my battle line, like a bull
  17. overwhelmed them. They left their tents.
  18. To save their lives they trampled over the bodies of
  19. their soldiers and fled. Like young captured birds  
they lost courage.
  20. With their urine they defiled their chariots
  21. and let fall their excrement. To pursue them
  22. I sent my chariots and horses after them.
  23. Their fugitives, who had gone out to save their lives
  24. wherever they were overtaken, were thrown down by  
arms.
- 
25. In those days, after I had finished the palace adjoining  
the wall of

26. NINEVEH for a royal dwelling, and  
 27. to the astonishment of all peoples had adorned it ;  
 28. the side building, for keeping in order the train,  
 29. for the keeping of horses, and all sorts of things  
 30. which the kings, my forefathers and fathers had built,  
 31. it had no foundation, its room was too small,  
 32. the workmanship was not tasteful. In the course of  
 time, its base  
 33. had become weak, the part under ground had given  
 way, and the upper part was in ruins.  
 34. That palace I tore down completely.  
 35. A great mass of building material I took out of the  
 ground.  
 36. The surrounding part of the city I cut off and added  
 37. to it. The place of the old palace I left.  
 38. With earth from the river bed I filled it up.  
 39. The lower ground I raised 200 *tipki*  
 40. above the level. In a favourable month  
 41. on an auspicious day I built on this foundation accord-  
 ing to the wisdom of my heart  
 42. a palace of *pilu*<sup>1</sup> stone and cedar wood, in the style (?)  
 43. of the HITTITES, and a great palace in the ASSYRIAN  
 style (?)  
 44. which far exceeded the former in adaptation,  
 45. size and artistic excellence, through the work of the  
 46. wise builders of my royal rule.  
 47. Great cedar beams from KHAMANU,<sup>2</sup>  
 48. a snow-capped mountain, I brought hither.  
 49. The doors of *liari* wood I surrounded with a cover  
 50. of gleaming bronze, and I put in the doors.  
 51. With white *pilu*<sup>1</sup> stones, which were found in the  
 52. environs of BULADAI I made great bull colossi  
 53. and placed them by the doors on the left and  
 54. right. For the equipment of the black headed men,  
 for the receiving  
 55. of horses, mules, calves, asses,  
 56. chariots, bow-strings (?), quivers,

<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. i. p. 117, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Mount Amanus.



- 
57. bows and arrows, every sort of tool for war,  
58. the harness for horses and mules,  
59. which have great power when yoked,  
60. I made rooms, and greatly enlarged them.  
61. I built that palace from foundation to roof  
62. and finished it. My inscription  
63. I brought into it. For future days,  
64. whoever—among the kings, my successors, (whom)  
    ASSUR and ISTAR  
65. shall call to the rule over the land and people—  
66. the prince may be, if this palace  
67. becomes old and ruined, who builds it anew  
68. may he preserve my inscription,  
69. anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, return it to its place;  
70. then will ASSUR and ISTAR hear his prayer.  
71. Whoever alters my writing and name  
72. him may ASSUR, the great lord, the father of the gods,  
    afflict like an enemy  
73. and take sceptre and throne from him and destroy his  
    rule.
- 

74. (Dated) the month Adar of the archonate of Bel-  
    imurani  
75. prefect of CARCHEMISH.

## A PRAYER OF ASSURBANIPAL

TRANSLATED BY MR. S. ARTHUR STRONG

THE following text is inscribed on a tablet of clay numbered 1285 in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum. It is remarkable not only as an almost perfect specimen of the later Assyrian caligraphy, but for containing a number of rare words and forms—a circumstance which has not made the task of translation and explanation easier. But its chief claim upon our interest and attention lies in the fact that the unknown author displays a depth and delicacy of religious emotion not often reached in Assyrian literature, and hardly surpassed even by the great masters of the emotional style—the Hebrew psalmists. On the one hand it is distinguished from the mass of anonymous compositions which we are accustomed to call hymns and penitential psalms by the absence of any traces of a magical character or purpose, while on the other its passionate and unconventional tone forms a striking contrast to the style usually adopted by Assyrian kings, who even when ascribing unto their lords glory and honour never forget their own titles, but compose monotonous

variations in strict official form upon the three themes of pride, flattery, and fear.

The text consists of a series of confessions or appeals on the part of Assurbanipal addressed not, as we might perhaps have expected, to Istar but to Nebo. These the god answers at intervals in words of consolation and encouragement. Throughout the text Assurbanipal is never called king. On the contrary, in one of his replies Nebo reminds him of his smallness and helplessness when an infant.

That these confessions and complaints may have been drawn from Assurbanipal by the stress of some political crisis is of course possible. We know of at least one such instance in his career; but the text contains absolutely no positive data such as would enable us to connect it with a definite event. The most that can be said is that it cannot be later than 626 B.C.

A striking feature of the inscription is the number of unusual verb-forms. They occur in almost every line, and I suggest that they may be explained as a rhythmical device of the composer.

The text has never been published;<sup>1</sup> but a free translation was contributed by Prof. Oppert to the second volume of Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël* (p. 486). This, however, unaccompanied as it is by any explanation of the renderings proposed, I have in most cases been unable to comprehend much less to follow.

<sup>1</sup> It will appear with a philological commentary in the *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*.

## A PRAYER OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL

### OBVERSE

1. . . . . I confess to thee, NEBO, in the assembly of the great gods :<sup>1</sup>
2. . . . . my sins, my soul is not subdued :<sup>2</sup>
3. . . . . NINEVEH, I make my prayer unto thee, warrior of the gods, his brothers :
4. . . . . the life of Assur-bani-pal for a long time, hereafter :
5. . . . . I prostrate myself at the feet of NEBO :
6. . . . . NEBO, in the whole multitude of my sins.
7. I will cause thee to live, Assur-bani-pal, even I, NEBO, to everlasting days :
8. Thy feet shall not be weary, thy hands shall not tremble :<sup>3</sup>
9. These thy lips shall not fail for praying to me :
10. Thy tongue shall not be put out from thy lips,
11. For I goodly speech will bestow upon thee :
12. I will go forward as thy head, I will make thy body<sup>4</sup> to go forward in the house of Ê-BARBAR.

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13. NEBO spake thus : Thy mouth utters good things,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psalm xxxi. 5 : " I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we should supply *ina pukkur*, as in line 29, and translate : "Through the whole multitude of my sins my soul is not subdued." Cf. Psalm lxxv. 3 : " My misdeeds prevail against me."

<sup>3</sup> Compare the words of Istar to Assur-bani-pal (Smith's *Assur-bani-pal*, p. 125) : " Thy face shall not grow pale, thy feet shall not totter"; and Isaiah xl. 31 : " They shall run and not be weary."

<sup>4</sup> *Lân-ka*, literally " thy side." The translation of the verb is doubtful owing to the uncertainty of the phonetic value of the second character employed in writing it. Perhaps we should read *amattakh*, " I will magnify."

14. which have been offered in prayer to URKITTU :<sup>1</sup>  
 15. Thy body which I made has been brought before me  
 in supplication, according to her appointment in  
 Ê-BARBAR :  
 16. The destiny which I formed has been brought before  
 me in supplication,  
 17. Thus :—May he have a reward in the house of the  
 Queen of the Universe !<sup>2</sup>  
 18. Thy life has been brought before me in supplication  
 thus :—His life do thou prolong, [even the life] of  
 Assur-bani-pal !

19. Bowing down in his sanctuary Assur-bani-pal made his  
 prayer to NEBO his lord :  
 20. I have given myself unto thee, NEBO, thou wilt not  
 forsake me, [even] me :  
 21. My life in thy presence is governed, my soul is held  
 in the embrace of BELTIS :<sup>3</sup>  
 22. I have given myself unto thee, NEBO [thou] mighty one,  
 thou wilt not forsake me, even me, in the midst of  
 my sins.

23. There answered a breath from the presence of NEBO  
 his lord :—  
 24. Fear not, Assur-bani-pal, long life will I give unto  
 thee :  
 25. Fair winds from thy life<sup>4</sup> will I appoint :  
 26. My mouth speaking that which is good shall cause thy  
 prayer to be heard in the assembly of the great  
 gods.

<sup>1</sup> Urkittu can hardly be a name or title of Nebo, and must therefore be an independent divinity, who, so far as I can find, appears for the first time in this passage. The phrase in line 29, "the reed of Urkittu," is interesting when we remember that *urqîtu* signifies "grass."

<sup>2</sup> My rendering of this line is only tentative.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psalm xxxvi, 9 : "With thee is the fountain of life."

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps we should read *ina* or *itti* instead of *ultu*, "from," and translate : "I will appoint fair winds (*i.e.* favourable circumstances) to be in," or "with thy life" (*i.e.* to pervade it).

## REVERSE

27. Assur-bani-pal confessed his misdeeds : he made his prayer unto NEBO his lord :
28. What he took at the feet of the queen of NINEVEH he did not conceal in the assembly of the great gods :
29. That which with the reed of URKITTU is acquired he did not conceal<sup>1</sup> [even] in the whole multitude of his sins :
30. In the whole multitude of my offences thou wilt not forsake me, NEBO :
31. In the whole multitude of my woes thou wilt not forsake my soul.

- 
32. Small wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I gave you over to [the care of] the Queen of NINEVEH :
33. A suckling<sup>2</sup> wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I satisfied thee on the lap of the Queen of NINEVEH :
34. The full streams of milk which into thy mouth are given twain thou suckest, twain thou drawest into thy mouth :
35. Thy sins, Assur-bani-pal, like ripples<sup>3</sup> on the face of water shall they be :
36. Like sandhills (?)<sup>4</sup> which on the face of the earth are piled up shall they be dispersed before thy feet :
37. Thou shalt stand, Assur-bani-pal, in the presence of the great gods : thou shalt magnify NEBO.

<sup>1</sup> *Iluadh* for *ilûdh*, like *imuat* for *imût*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lakû* is given in *W. A. I.* v. 23, 33-4, as a synonym of *daddu*, "breast," and *tsikhru*, "small." Cf. Isaiah lxvi. 11-13: "That ye may suck, and be satisfied. Ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled upon her knees, as one whom his mother comforteth."

<sup>3</sup> *'Sipi*, as in Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> *Burbillatû*. The parallelism demands some such signification as this.

## THE NON-SEMITIC VERSION OF THE CREATION-STORY

TRANSLATED BY THEO. G. PINCHES

IN addition to the versions of the creation-story current in ancient times in Babylonia and Assyria, translations of which have been published in this series<sup>1</sup> by Prof. Sayce, another version has lately come to light. This new text, unlike the others, is written in two languages (Sumerian or Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian), each line of the text being divided to admit of the Semitic translation being inserted between, giving the whole the appearance of an inscription in three columns, the middle one rather irregular and written in smaller characters. The tablet is made of baked clay, and is small and very beautifully written. Translations have been published by me in the *New York Independent*, the *Academy* (29th Nov. 1890, pp. 508, 509), and (complete and accompanied by philological notes) the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1891, pp. 393-408. Prof. F. Hommel has also published a translation in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for July 1891, pp.

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. i. pp. 122 and 147.

105-114. The tablet was found by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam at Abu-habbah (Sippara) in 1881-82, and is numbered 82-5-22, 1048. It is a text of great importance in consequence of its being written in two languages.



## THE NON-SEMITIC VERSION OF THE CREATION-STORY

### OBVERSE

1. Incantation: The glorious house, the house of the gods, in a glorious place had not been made,
2. A plant had not been brought forth, a tree had not been created,
3. A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped,
4. A house had not been built, a city had not been constructed,
5. A city had not been made, the foundation had not been made glorious;
6. NIFFER had not been built, Ê-KURA had not been constructed;
7. ERECH had not been built, Ê-ANA<sup>1</sup> had not been constructed;
8. The Abyss had not been made, ERIDU<sup>2</sup> had not been constructed.
9. (As for) the glorious house, the house of the gods, its seat had not been made,
10. The whole of the lands, the sea also.<sup>3</sup>
11. When within the sea there was a stream
12. In that day ERIDU was made, Ê-SAGILA was constructed,
13. Ê-[SAG]ILA which the god LUGAL-DU-AZAGA had founded within the abyss.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the chief temple at Erech (the modern Warka).

<sup>2</sup> [Now Abu-Shahreïn. In the earlier days of its history Eridu was on the shore of the Persian Gulf. The text refers to a sort of heavenly Eridu which corresponded to the earthly one.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> Or, "The whole of the lands were sea" (*Nap̄khar mâtatû tâmtumma*).

14. BABYLON was built, Ê-SAGILA<sup>1</sup> was completed,
15. He made the gods (and) the ANUNNAKI<sup>2</sup> together ;
16. The glorious city, the seat of the joy of their hearts,  
supremely he had proclaimed.
17. MERODACH bound together a foundation before the  
waters ;
18. He made dust, and poured (it) out with the flood.
19. The gods were to be caused to sit in a seat of joy of  
heart.
20. He made mankind.
21. (ARURU had made the seed of mankind with him).
22. He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures  
of the desert ;
23. He made the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES, and set (them)  
in (their) place.
24. Well proclaimed he their name.
25. Grass, the marsh-plant, the reed, and the forest he made.
26. He made the verdure of the plain,
27. The lands, the marsh, the thicket also,
28. Oxen, the young of the steer, the cow and her calf, the  
sheep of the fold,
29. Meadows and forests also.
30. The goat and the gazelle he set therein (?).
31. Lord MERODACH on the sea-shore raised a bank.
32. . . . . at first he made not.
33. . . . . he caused to be.
34. [He caused the plant to be brought forth], he made  
the tree.
35. . . . . he made in (its) place.
36. [He laid the brick], he made the beams,
37. [He constructed the house], he built the city.
38. [He built the city], he made the foundation glorious.
39. [He built the city NIFFER], he built Ê-KURA the  
temple.
40. [He built the city ERECH, he built Ê-A]NA the temple.
41. . . . . \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>1</sup> The great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, which bore the same name as " Ê-sagila which Lugal-du-azaga had founded within the Abyss."

<sup>2</sup> [The spirits of the earth.—ED.]

## REVERSE

1. . . . .
  2. . . . .
  3. May thy supreme messenger, PAP-SUKAL, counsel the gods ;
  4. NIN-AKHA-KUDU, daughter of EA,
  5. May she make thee glorious with a glorious remedy ;
  6. May she make thee pure with pure fire.
  7. With the glorious pure fountain of the abyss purify thou the place of thy path !
  8. By the incantation of MERODACH, king of the host of heaven and earth,
  9. May the abundance of the world descend into thy midst !
  10. May thy command be accomplished in time to come !
  11. O Ê-ZIDA, the glorious seat, the beloved of ANU and ISTAR art thou,
  12. Mayest thou shine like heaven ; mayest thou be glorious like the earth, mayest thou shine like the midst of heaven,
  13. May [the evil spirit] dwell outside of thee !
- 
14. Incantation of . . . . .
- 
15. Incantation : 'The star . . . . . the long chariot of heaven.

The difference between this account of the Creation and that published in vol. i. p. 122, is very marked. It is short even to bareness, telling all it has to say in a few words, whereas the other version extends over several closely-written tablets, and introduces at great length the fight between Merodach and Tiamat, or Bel and the Dragon ; the creation of the heavenly bodies, etc. etc. As Prof. Hommel has pointed out, the principal thing in this new

account of the Creation of the world was not merely the formation of men and animals, but rather the founding of the first seats of civilisation in Babylonia, and, it may be added, the assertion of their divine origin. And in this we may see why the story is put as the introduction to an incantation ; for, judging from the fragment of the reverse, the text seems really to have referred to the dedication-festival or purification of the well-known temple Ê-zida (now the Birs-Nimroud), and the creation-story with which it begins probably led up to the story of the foundation of that renowned temple.

In this new account of the Creation the small number of the deities who took part in the work is noteworthy. The first god mentioned is Lugal-du-azaga, "the king of the glorious abode," who is spoken of as having founded "Eridu within the Abyss," the paradise of the gods. Lugal-du-azaga was probably one of the forms of Êa, the god of the sea and of wisdom. Merodach, the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, appears as a matter of course, and is spoken of as having created mankind, animals, plants, and the renowned sites wherein Babylonian civilisation had its origin. In the creation of mankind Merodach seems to have been aided by a goddess named Aruru, who was worshipped at Sippara and at Aruru, twin cities of the province of Agadé or Akkad. Aruru is probably the same as Istar, who was worshipped at Sippara, and is possibly identical with a goddess named Gala-Aruru, "the

great one (of) Aruru" or "Great Aruru," who is explained as "Istar the star," in the list of gods numbered K. 2109.

Among the parallels with the Biblical account may be quoted lines 25-29 of the obverse, where the creation of plants, lands, meadows, and forests is spoken of (cf. Gen. i. 11, 12); and lines 22 and 28-30, which describe the creation of living things (cf. Gen. i. 24). "He made mankind" (line 20) corresponds with the words "And God created man" in Gen. i. 26, 27.

On the other hand, there are some remarkable differences. There is no true description of chaos, the making of day and night is not mentioned, nor the setting of the heavenly bodies to give light (this may, however, have been given on a lost portion) and to indicate the seasons. The text is also silent concerning fishes, sea-monsters, and birds; and the days of the creation are also absent, as in the version translated in vol. i. It is nevertheless not impossible that we may have, in the divine Eridu, a reflection of the garden of Eden, though there is no mention of the placing of man therein, nor the tree of life, nor the tree of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The Tigris and the Euphrates

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Hommel has pointed out, however, that the ideograph which denotes Eridu seems to be a *representation of a tree*, and it is worthy of note that the divine Eridu, that within the Abyss, seems to be spoken of as a tree or vine in *W. A. I.* iv. 15, rev., ll. 52, 53, where it says that "Eridu is the dark vine, growing in a glorious place" (such is a literal translation of the Akkadian text; the Assyrian has: "Eridu grew (as) a dark vine, it was made to grow in a glorious place," the translator having taken *e*, a kind of demonstrative suffix, or lengthening, for *ê*, "to grow"). This tree is described as being in the likeness of bright crystal or marble, and planted in the Abyss, and the path of Êa or Aê (god of the sea, rivers,

are mentioned—not in connection with the watering of the garden of Eden, but simply as a record of the creation, by Merodach, of these two great waterways which were the life of the Mesopotamian plain.

The story, as it has come down to us, ends with the description of the building of those cities which, at the beginning, are said not to have existed, and gives the honour of their origination to Merodach, the principal god worshipped by the Babylonians.

and of deep wisdom) is said to have filled Eridu with fertility. Eridu, situated within the Abyss, the abode of the god of wisdom, may therefore be regarded as a type of the tree of knowledge mentioned in Gen. ii. 9.

# THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS OF KAPPADOKIA

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR

WE now have evidence that the cuneiform system of writing was once employed throughout the greater part of the civilised world of the East. The Persians under Darius formed an alphabet out of it, which became the key to the modern decipherment of the cuneiform texts. It had originally been the invention of the primitive Sumerian population of Chaldæa, who spoke an agglutinative language, and from whom it was borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians. In Elam it was used to express the agglutinative dialects of Shushan and Mal-Amir, and in the ninth century before our era it was adopted by the kings of Ararat, who reigned at Van, and whose language seems to have been related to that of the Georgians of to-day. A seal found near Herat in 1842 shows that even as far east as Bactria the cuneiform characters were employed to represent the language of the country, and the inscription of Anu-banini, King of Lulubi, discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson at Ser-i-pul and lately copied by Mr. de Morgan, tells us that here also the

ancient language of the inhabitants had been embodied in the characters of the cuneiform script. We have learnt from the tablets of Tel el-Amarna that in the century before the Exodus the same system of writing was the common medium of literary intercourse among the various nations who lived between the Tigris and the frontiers of Egypt. Among the correspondence found at Tel el-Amarna is a long letter in the language of Mitanni, the Aram-Naharaim of Scripture, the characters in which it is written being those of the cuneiform syllabary, and the extent to which the syllabary was studied and known in Canaan at the time removes our astonishment at finding that it has been used to express the Phœnician language on two seals now in the collection of M. de Clercq.

The cuneiform system of writing and the Assyrian language had penetrated even to the north-west, to the neighbourhood of the modern Kaisariyeh. The discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions of Kappadokia is due to the sagacity of Mr. Pinches. In 1882 he pointed out the existence of two tablets, one in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre, which were written in a peculiar form of cuneiform script and apparently in an unknown language. They had been obtained from an Armenian dealer in antiquities at Constantinople, and the occurrence of the word *ku-din-a*, "mules," in the one in the British Museum made Mr. Pinches connect it with a tablet from Nineveh in which mention was made of



the transport of these animals from Kusâ in Kappadokia (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 1881). The following summer Prof. W. M. Ramsay bought five more tablets of a similar character at Kaisariyeh, upon which I published an article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (Nov. 1883). As, however, I was unable to identify correctly a large number of the characters, I was also unable to decipher the texts, and the conclusions I drew in regard to the language of them were incorrect.

The tablets obtained by Prof. Ramsay are now in the British Museum. Other tablets have since been purchased by Mr. Golénischeff, the University of Philadelphia, and myself, and it is now known that they are found in a place three or four hours distant from Kaisariyeh.

Mr. Golénischeff's collection is a large one, and a comparison of his tablets one with another has opened up the way to their decipherment. Thus he has discovered that the character wrongly identified by Mr. Pinches and myself with the ideograph of "woman" is really the ideograph which means "in the presence of," and that consequently the words which follow it must be the names of witnesses to a deed. He generously placed both his tablets and his discoveries at my disposal three years ago, and I was accordingly able to announce to the Oriental Congress at Stockholm that I could translate some of the tablets, and was further in a position to deter-

mine the age to which they belong and the nature of the dialect in which they are written (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1889, p. 157). Last winter Mr. Golénisheff published copies of twenty-four tablets belonging to his collection, together with a full and interesting introduction to them, and a list of the characters found in them, under the title: "Vingt-quatre Tablettes cappadociennes de la Collection W. Golénisheff" (St. Petersburg, 1891). In this work he has determined the values of most of the characters, and pointed out the signification of many words.

The tablets are written in an Assyrian dialect. On the phonetic side the dialect displays the peculiarities of the Tel el-Amarna letters from Northern Syria, changing *t* into *d*, *k* into *g*, *p* into *b*. Like them it also employs the old Babylonian *mim-mation*, and substitutes *z* for *ts*. But in certain respects its phonology is peculiar, *yutir*, for instance, appearing as *yutair*, and *itur* as *iduâr*. The vocabulary is mainly Assyrian, but it contains some Aramaic forms, like the proper name *Garia*, "the stranger," and the plural in *-â* (which, however, occurs in only two of the tablets known to me), as well as words which we have hitherto regarded as specifically Hebrew. Among these is *aparnê*, "a chariot" or "litter," which throws light on the *appiryôn* of Canticles iii. 9—the only passage in Semitic literature where it has been otherwise found—and proves that the word is not of Greek origin, as has sometimes been asserted; *ati*, "substance" or "pro-

perty"; *adunu*, "lord"; and *urubatun*, "a pledge," the Hebrew *'êrâbhôn*. But besides these Semitic words, the dialect further presents us with a considerable number of words which have no Semitic etymology, and must therefore have been borrowed from the language of the country from which the tablets come. That the speakers of the dialect were mixed with a foreign population is clear from the evidence of the tablets themselves, as the epithet *garum*, or "stranger," is often attached in them to a name which is usually non-Semitic in character. Thus we read at the beginning of one tablet (G. No. 19): "The mother of the stranger Ganis to the stranger Burus, Khati-zadinniat, says." A duplicate of a contract is also sometimes mentioned as being "written according to the language of the foreigner."

It would seem, accordingly, that the tablets belong to an Assyrian colony which was established in a city of Kappadokia in the midst of a foreign population. Here the usages and customs of Assyria were maintained, such as the use of the Assyrian language and syllabary, the yearly appointment of officers called *limmi*, or "eponyms," after whom time was reckoned, and the employment of proper names, of which the name of Assur formed an element. It was inevitable, however, that the colonists should in course of time become affected by the foreign influences around them, and hence it was that the purity of their pronunciation was lost, and that their language became filled with foreign words. We know from

the Assyrian inscriptions that colonies had been planted in the countries north of Assyria by the Assyrian kings at an early period. Thus Assurnatsir-pal informs us that Shalmaneser I., about 1300 B.C., had settled "Assyrian colonists" near the sources of the Tigris,<sup>1</sup> and that other Assyrian colonists were established in the city of Tuskhan not far from Mount Masius.<sup>2</sup>

The age of the Kappadokian tablets is, I believe, as early as that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. We find in both the same archaic formulæ, and the same use of an ideograph by the side of the phonetically-written word which it denotes. As I have already stated, the dialect of the tablets is distinguished by the phonetic peculiarities which belong to the letters from Northern Syria in the Tel el-Amarna collection, and the forms of the characters are similar in the two classes of documents. The employment of the mimation also points to an early date. That Assyria was already in close relations with Khani-rabbat or Melitène in the fifteenth century B.C. we have learnt from the Tel el-Amarna correspondence,<sup>3</sup> and the place where the tablets are found may easily have been included within the kingdom of Khani-rabbat. It may be added that one of the tablets belonging to Mr. Golénischeff bears the impress of a seal, upon which are figures in the Hittite style of art as well as the remains of a Hittite character.

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 147. See also p. 160, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 62.

The tablets relate for the most part to the loan of money, or the deposit of various objects in the hands of certain persons, and they contain a number of technical terms, the meaning of which is not as yet clear. One of these terms is *khamustu*, "a fifth," of which we also find the plural *khamsatu*, "fifths." A "fifth" was generally deducted from the sum of money lent out at interest, though who was the official to whom it was paid, and why it was paid, are questions to which at present I can return no answer. Besides the *limmu*, or yearly eponym, whose title is always written *limum*, we find mention of the *durdanu*, in Assyrian *turtanu*, or "Tartan" (G. xx. 21); of a Rab-zikitum, or Chief Judge; of a Rab-gimelti, or Chief Magistrate; of a Rab-aladinnim; and of a Rubaum, or "prince."

Most of the deities mentioned in the tablets are Assyrian. Thus we find the names of Assur, Anu, Istar, Bel, Nebo, Nana or Nani, Samas, and Zu. Zu, indeed, who occupies only a subordinate place in the Assyrian pantheon, seems to have been a favourite in Kappadokia, if we may judge from the number of proper names into which his name enters. Thus we have Ena-Zuim, "the eye of Zu," and Zugalialia, "Zu is my priest." Another deity was Babu, "the gate," who appears to have been of Aramaic origin. At all events the name is not found in the lists of the Assyrian divinities, while, according to Damascius,<sup>1</sup> the goddess Babia was worshipped at

<sup>1</sup> *Uita Isidori*, 76.

Damascus. The Aramaic name Bur-Addi, corresponding to the Hebrew Ben-Hadad, occurs in one of the tablets (G. ix. 11), and we meet also with that of Bar-'Sibala (G. xviii. 2). Among the Semitic deities mentioned in the tablets, but not worshipped in Assyria, is Basku, "the serpent." Besides the Semitic deities there are, as might be expected, others of foreign origin. One of these is Tarku, whom I had long since maintained to be a Hittite god; a second is Khati, "the Hittite" (?), whose name enters into that of a woman called Khati-zadinniat.

The introduction of Assyrian deities into Kappadokia explains the proper names met with in the Greek inscriptions of Kappadokia and Kilikia, which are obviously derived from the names of Assyrian gods. Thus we have Nanas from Nana, Nineis from Nin, Nenaris from Nannaru. As Nineps is one of the Kilikian names which have thus been handed down to us, it seems probable that the name of the Assyrian god Uras, which is often represented by the two characters *Nin* and *ip*, was really pronounced Nin-ip.

In place of the name of a particular deity we very often have merely the word *il* or *el*, "god." In fact, the simple *il* or *el* seems to recur more frequently than even the name of Assur. We find, for instance, Iqib-il (perhaps "Jacob is god") by the side of Iqib-Istar and Egib-mekhra, Ilu-rabu ("God is great"), Ilu-nada ("God has appointed"),

Asuma-il,<sup>1</sup> Erada-il, Anakh-ili, Sulaba-il, Nur-ki-ili, and El-Anima (perhaps "a god is Anu," like Nani-belim, "Nana is lord"). This preference for the simple *il*—which is also written *el*—may be due to its substitution for the name of some foreign divinity, but it may also indicate the existence among the colonists of a tendency towards monotheism.

The names of several months are mentioned in the tablets. One is Kuzallu (G. iii. 12), which, according to a lexical tablet (*W. A. I.* v. 43, 14), was a name of the month Sivan. As the great cylinder inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. is dated in this month, its name may be regarded as a witness in favour of the early date of the Kappadokian tablet. Another month is Kur-sarani or Akh-saranim (G. iv. 7; x. 8), while a third is *arkhu-sazarati*, "the month of sowing" (G. vi. 12, 13), and a fourth is Iyyar-Qamarta (G. ix. 9). Here the word Qamarta seems to be the native name of the Assyrian Iyyar or April, the whole name signifying "the month of the bull Qamarta." A fifth month was that of Napisti-Zuim, the month of "the life of the god Zu" (G. xi. 9).

In the references the letter G. denotes the inscriptions published by Mr. Golénischeff. As the texts are here translated for the first time, while many of the characters have not been previously identified, I have given my readings pretty freely in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> The word *Asuma* seems to mean "share" in an inheritance. See note 6 on No. iv. below. But as it would also correspond to the name of the Hamathite god Ashima (2 Kings xvii. 30), *Asuma-il* may signify "Asuma is god."

## THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS OF KAPPADOKIA

### I<sup>1</sup>

One maneh of refined<sup>2</sup> silver Kura transferred ;<sup>3</sup> Iqib-il has (it). He has lent (it) ;<sup>4</sup> the fifth<sup>5</sup> belongs to Bil-akh-Asur the son of Gadidi. The month Akh-saranim, the yearly eponym being Ilu-rabu. After 11 fifths he shall pay the capital, but he has not yet paid the one shekel and a half which he registers (as interest) each month upon the maneh. The witnesses are Ilu-nada, Amur-Asur (and) Banaga.<sup>6</sup>

### II<sup>7</sup>

Two manehs (and) 10 shekels of silver Asuma-il has transferred ; Zaki[m]-il has (them). After two months he shall repay (them). And he registers<sup>8</sup> the sum (for interest) as 6 manehs, but he has not yet paid (anything). The manehs (belong) to himself alone.<sup>9</sup> Half a maneh of

<sup>1</sup> G. No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Zarubam*, the Assyrian *tsarpu*, Hebrew *tsaraph*.

<sup>3</sup> *Izir*. Mr. Golénischeff reads *igir*. If this is correct the root will be the same as that of *garu*, "a stranger."

<sup>4</sup> *Isdu*. I suppose the word to be from the same root as *saduât*, which must signify "a loan" in G. 1, where I read : vi. *siklu ga'spi saduât Asur-ta'âr abil Gimil-Istar irabbe ina ba . . u gamarum Ili-[bani] i-su*, and translate : "Six shekels of silver, the loan of Asur-ta'âr, the son of Gimil-Istar, bring in interest at . . . , and Ili-bani has (them)." In G. 14, 34, however, *isdu* seems to mean "he has taken."

<sup>5</sup> *Khamustim*. The "fifth" seems to mean an instalment of interest here.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of this name is not certain.

<sup>7</sup> G. No. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Yusakur*.

<sup>9</sup> *Edi-su*.



silver of the property<sup>1</sup> he registers on a duplicate,<sup>2</sup> and the six *remain* (?). The witnesses are Barruwa the son of Nabate, Arzana-mil(?)ku his brother, (and) Anina.

### III<sup>3</sup>

[Twenty] manehs of silver Garia, Asa'su and Mer-esu the prince<sup>4</sup> have given as a pledge<sup>5</sup> to Iqib-il. For the 20 manehs of silver Supuna his brother<sup>6</sup> asks, and the Rab-aladinnim who is the Chief Judge<sup>7</sup> has effected the transfer by hand<sup>8</sup> in the month Napisti-Zuim, the yearly eponym being Suma. Ten manehs of silver at harvest-time<sup>9</sup> he shall pay; 10 manehs of silver at the second<sup>10</sup> harvest he shall pay, and the amount,<sup>11</sup> namely, the 20 manehs of Garia, Asa'su and Mer-esu, Supuna his brother shall repay to the brothers; and as for the 20 manehs of silver, they shall weigh<sup>12</sup> them, even the silver, on the head of Garia his brother. The witnesses are the man<sup>13</sup> who binds<sup>14</sup> their houses and their cities, the Rab-gimeltim<sup>15</sup> (and) Kumri of DINKISA.

<sup>1</sup> Or of "the deposit" (*isati*) which he "holds" (*isu*).

<sup>2</sup> *Gibil* from *qabâlu*. Other passages show that it cannot mean "beforehand."

<sup>3</sup> G. No. II.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps "princes," since in No. 5. 7 *manaum* is the plural "manehs."

<sup>5</sup> *Urubatim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Akh-su*, "his brother," is perhaps part of the proper name Supuna-akh-su.

<sup>7</sup> *Rab-zikitim*, "chief of the laws."

<sup>8</sup> This I imagine to be the meaning of the phrase *gatatim isdu*, where *gatatim* seems to be a derivative from *gatu*, "hand," rather than its plural. If, however, the latter is its true explanation, the phrase may perhaps signify "has taken the hands." For *isdu* see note 4 to No. i. above.

<sup>9</sup> *Kharibim*, Heb. *khoreph*.

<sup>10</sup> *Saniutim*.

<sup>11</sup> *Anam*. The ideograph of "silver" is added to the word to indicate its signification. Comp. the Hebrew *ôn* (Hos. xii. 9).

<sup>12</sup> Or "pay," *isakulu*.

<sup>13</sup> *Nêsu*.

<sup>14</sup> *Raki's*, used technically of binding by contract.

<sup>15</sup> "The chief of rewards" or "punishments," that is, the Chief Magistrate.

IV<sup>1</sup>

To the daughter of [her] father say thus: My daughter is good, and as for me, we have listened to thy letter<sup>2</sup> which Samas-tabba'i has brought me,<sup>3</sup> and I answer thy letter thus: I also send an answer<sup>4</sup> as follows: As regards the manehs, behold (they are) the interest on the property of our seed;<sup>5</sup> three of them for a *nâsbutim* are fixed; two-thirds is thy property. I have seen Samas-tabba'i asking for a share in the inheritance,<sup>6</sup> whom thou hast sent to me,<sup>7</sup> saying: Behold all the inheritance!<sup>8</sup> And *iba'si* have not been given. But let thy orders<sup>9</sup> go, (for) *iba'si* have not been given. To the presence of our brother take it, and he will arrange everything. And the law of thy god<sup>10</sup> . . . thy seat . . . the letter do not give.

V<sup>11</sup>

To Amur-Samas and Aladinim. To Aladinim say thus: They have numbered<sup>12</sup> the tablet before ASSUR, and I and Padu have devoted<sup>13</sup> one maneh and a half of silver (written) on thy tablet in *ganis*; <sup>14</sup> and that it never become (private) property<sup>15</sup> they have bound<sup>16</sup> a shekel of silver in a *case* (?).<sup>17</sup> I have given thy tablet [to Amur-]Samas; he has taken the . . . . "Amur-Samas, thy brother, (is) our

<sup>1</sup> G. No. 15.<sup>2</sup> *Nasberta-ga.*<sup>3</sup> *Ublani.*<sup>4</sup> *Al[ta] par belam.*<sup>5</sup> *Sadu ziri-ni.* But it is also possible to read *sa dugiri-ni*, "which thou hast transferred to me."<sup>6</sup> *Asume rasaum.* *Asume* must have the same root as the Assyrian *usmanu*, "baggage." Compare the name of the Hamathite god Ashima (2 Kings xvii. 30).<sup>7</sup> *Tastanabarani.*<sup>8</sup> *Rasiti.*<sup>9</sup> *Tirti*, the Hebrew *torâh*.<sup>10</sup> *Tirti ila-ga.*<sup>11</sup> G. No. 16.<sup>12</sup> *Manu.*<sup>13</sup> *Nikhrimu*, the Hebrew *khâram*. The word is not met with in the Assyrian inscriptions.<sup>14</sup> This seems to be a word borrowed from the language of Kappadokia, as it can hardly represent an Assyrian *ina kani-su*, "in its establishing," "in perpetuity."<sup>15</sup> *Ana â· NU· tisam.* The ideograph NU is written by the side of its phonetic representative â. *Tisu* is a derivative from *isu*, "to possess."<sup>16</sup> *Rak'suni.*<sup>17</sup> *Asiki*; perhaps related to the Hebrew *khâshak*.

brother,"—behold the words of the tablet, which do thou give to Amur-Samas; and also thy tablet (is) evidence<sup>1</sup> for the silver above-mentioned,<sup>2</sup> the (private) property, (and) the shekel of silver belonging to thy tablet. And the *rest* (?)<sup>3</sup> of the (private) property among the seed of my father and among my own seed Amur-Samas shall never take; and also I *add* (?) to the silver the (private) property (described) on thy tablet (and) the deed which I will never violate.<sup>4</sup>

VI<sup>5</sup>

To Iqib-il say thus: Isma-Asur my little one<sup>6</sup> has lent<sup>7</sup> the *burnat*,<sup>8</sup> our property;<sup>9</sup> they have not brought (it) back; (and) the *agur*, thy property, they have not brought back; and behold I did not give him<sup>10</sup> (anything) in the whole of *what is sent* (?),<sup>11</sup> . . . and thou sendest to me Qama-Asur: he does not make small the eye;<sup>12</sup> thy orders thou hast taught him,<sup>13</sup> and thou hast not taken the 6 manehs of silver which Sulaba-il gave me. One maneh of silver which (is) in the *keeping* (?)<sup>14</sup> of Sulaba-il . . .

VII<sup>15</sup>

To Khanu[ni]-Nabim, Iqib-il and Asur-malik say thus: My father, my lord, the master<sup>16</sup> left<sup>17</sup> a tablet (of legitimacy) to myself at my birth,<sup>18</sup> and now<sup>19</sup> I hear a letter<sup>20</sup> about "the ox of a foreigner"; and I do not

<sup>1</sup> *Li[wa]*, as in line 25. It is the Assyrian *liu*, "a papyrus-roll," "a deed."

<sup>2</sup> *Elata*.

<sup>3</sup> *'Siaba*; the word occurs again in G. 18, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Usamrits*.

<sup>5</sup> G. No. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Zukharu*. See *W. A. I.* ii. 36, 53.

<sup>7</sup> *Isdu*.

<sup>8</sup> The determinative shows that some kind of clothing is intended.

<sup>9</sup> *Ati*, Hebrew *eth*.

<sup>10</sup> *Lâdin-su*.

<sup>11</sup> *Sabarim*; *sabartim* occurs in G. 13, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Izakhur ena*.

<sup>13</sup> *Tirti-ga durda-su*.

<sup>14</sup> *K'hur'sianim*.

<sup>15</sup> G. No. 14.

<sup>16</sup> *Adunu*, Hebrew *adon*.

<sup>17</sup> *Etarim*, Hebrew *yether*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ina baniti*.

<sup>19</sup> *Inume*, the *inuma* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

<sup>20</sup> Literally "a tablet."

send<sup>1</sup> to the city saying : At the [second ?] gate the sheep I have . . . , I have *slaughtered* (?) ;<sup>2</sup> [to] the city thou dost not send<sup>3</sup> [saying : ] say :<sup>4</sup> for the *prey* (?), O my son, thou shalt go<sup>5</sup> until that day<sup>6</sup> (whereon) one . . . . the master . . . . and I went to my father until that day (whereon) I he[ar] that [letter] speaking of "the ox of a stranger" ; the sheep . . . and I have gone a long way<sup>7</sup> and [to] the midst of the [mo]untain I ascended, and thus I am ; and the elders have sent, (saying that) I should go, by the hand of Eriti. I have gone a long way to the cities [which] thou gavest me : the tablet about the 4 oxen . . until I shall cause (them) to be given. [And now] [af]ter travelling a long way and bringing (them) I hear that as regards my property (which) Ganis has taken<sup>8</sup> he will restore (it) to me. . . . .

VIII<sup>9</sup>

Eighteen and a half shekels of refined silver Dadia the son of Nani-belim has transferred ; Asur-malik the son of Ena-Zuim the son of Zu-galia has (them). After five months he shall repay them, but he has not yet paid one shekel of the same. He shall register a duplicate during the month. (Dated) the month Kuzalli, the yearly eponym being Asur-imesi the sailor.<sup>10</sup> The witnesses are Ena-Asur the son of Erati (and) Garia the son of Gimil-Belim.

IX<sup>11</sup>

Fourteen shekels of silver Birati has transferred, Asur-rabu holds (them). They have taken the fifth of Asur-malik and Enna-Zuim. After ten fifths he shall repay the money ; but he has not yet paid (it). He shall register a

<sup>1</sup> *A'siprim* for *astiprim*.<sup>2</sup> *Sakhtaku*.<sup>3</sup> *Ta'sibir*.<sup>4</sup> [*Ki*] *be-ma*.<sup>5</sup> *Ana salati marî talak*.<sup>6</sup> *Adi yumem anim*.<sup>7</sup> [*Ma*] *rkita*, from *arâku*. But the word may mean "refuge."<sup>8</sup> *Isdu*.<sup>9</sup> G. No. 3.<sup>10</sup> *Malakhum*.<sup>11</sup> G. No. 6.

duplicate according to the language of the foreigner.<sup>1</sup> (Dated) the month of sowing,<sup>2</sup> the yearly eponym being Sagati-Asur. He has made the copy the same day that he arranges the partnership.<sup>3</sup> In his *kurumeti*<sup>4</sup> he writes the sum of silver. Witnessed by Asur-rabu (and) Id(?)-sa-Asur.

X<sup>5</sup>

On two manehs of silver, which Istar-namâ has given on mortgage<sup>6</sup> to Asur-rabu, they have taken half a maneh of silver as the fifth of Asur-bel-amatim. The silver and its *voucher* (?)<sup>7</sup> Erada-il has taken; <sup>8</sup> Ili-bani has weighed it, and Asur-rabu returns (it)<sup>9</sup> to Ili-bani, Erada-il keeps<sup>10</sup> it. The witnesses are Asur-malik, Gullaba (and) . . . .

XI<sup>11</sup>

One maneh of *unrefined* (?)<sup>12</sup> silver, in the presence of the brother of Ganis, Sarkhunu has transferred; Anakh-ili holds (it). They have taken the fifth of Asur-malik the son of Zu-galia. (Dated) the month Akh-sarani. After a month he shall repay [the money]. The witnesses are Dumana the foreigner, Dubduba, (and) Rakima(?)-ibri. His house, his furniture<sup>13</sup> and his *gurru* I inspect.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kima amat garim gibil yuzakur.* The statement is important.

<sup>2</sup> *Arkhi sa zaratim.*

<sup>3</sup> *Nada suwa LAL wa' yume-su kharanam itaraiz.* The ideograph LAL is added to its phonetic equivalent *suwa*. In the Babylonian contract-tablets *kharran* is used in the sense of a "partnership."

<sup>4</sup> This word seems to mean "an account-book" in this passage. In Assyrian *kurumatu* seems to mean "food."

<sup>5</sup> G. No. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Khabuluni*, the Hebrew *khâbhal*.

<sup>7</sup> *Gibati*, apparently the Assyrian *qibati* or *qibiti*, from *qabû*, "to speak."

<sup>8</sup> *Elki.*

<sup>9</sup> Or "gives it up" (*iduar*).

<sup>10</sup> *Yubakh*, Assyrian *pakhu*, "to close."

<sup>11</sup> G. No. 10.

<sup>12</sup> I imagine this to be the signification of the word *likhi*, which would thus correspond to the Hebrew *lakh*.

<sup>13</sup> *Asat.*

<sup>14</sup> *Adagal.* I suspect that *gurru* is the Assyrian *kiru*, the "garden" or "plantation" attached to a house.

XII<sup>1</sup>

Thirteen and a *ner*<sup>2</sup> shekels of silver, thy share, I have given on mortgage and Zu-takhziz has given judgment; the breast (and) head Izmetas (?) has *struck* (?) saying: "I have paid<sup>3</sup> the 15 shekels of silver that they may not be given back:<sup>4</sup> I have weighed the rest,<sup>5</sup> fifteen shekels, for Sakima the son of my brother. The payment<sup>6</sup> of 20 manehs, even the manehs (inscribed on) the tablet, (and) the additional sum<sup>7</sup> which is repeated on its enclosure, I have given." The manehs he has taken for thee saying: ASUR has appointed that to Mar-ki-Asur the *grandson* (?)<sup>8</sup> of Asur-ki-naram and (to) Samas-tabba'i it should be said;<sup>9</sup> to Mar-ki-Asur it should be said: "The 33 manehs he has taken we have certified,<sup>10</sup> and I, thy . . . , have entered into the house of Abu-salim<sup>11</sup> the son of Asur-emuki, and Sakima . . . . 1½ manehs of silver. The rest<sup>12</sup> of the silver and [gold? belongs to] Sakima, the son of the brethren. To the place of his *sakhut* we have ascended."

XIII<sup>13</sup>

Twenty mules for a chariot<sup>14</sup> in good condition, 10 mules the offspring<sup>15</sup> of a mule in good condition, 10 (mules) of Ku'su, linen<sup>16</sup> in good condition for the clothing of royalty, (and) the *rest* (?)<sup>17</sup> of the mules of the country in good condition, belonging to El-ugar, all the mules they

<sup>1</sup> The second tablet brought from Kaisariyeh by Professor Ramsay and published by me in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 1883, pp. 21, 22. The transliteration there given by me will have to be corrected in many points.

<sup>2</sup> I have no idea what division of the shekel is signified by the *ner*.

<sup>3</sup> *Etiru*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ana sa la duar*.

<sup>5</sup> *Akhâta*.

<sup>6</sup> Literally "weighing."

<sup>7</sup> *Gadum*.

<sup>8</sup> TUR-TUR-ZI.

<sup>9</sup> *Kibi-ma*.

<sup>10</sup> Literally "we know," *nidi*.

<sup>11</sup> Absalom.

<sup>12</sup> *Akhâta*.

<sup>13</sup> The British Museum tablet published by Mr. Pinches in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 1881.

<sup>14</sup> Or "litter," *aparnê*, the *appiryôn* of Cant. iii. 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Nawa*, perhaps Hebrew *na*, Arabic *nâ'a*.

<sup>16</sup> *Kitê*.

<sup>17</sup> *'Siti*.

shall value to El-ugar, in all<sup>1</sup> 80 mules in good condition shall be valued to El-ugar. For a *receipt* (?) the purchasers<sup>2</sup> ask him,<sup>3</sup> and one-third of a maneh (and) five shekels in silver to El-ugar are paid.

XIV<sup>4</sup>

Four manehs of refined silver Salsu(?)<sup>5</sup>-tida the son of Khiti-ili has lent<sup>6</sup> to Tarku<sup>7</sup>-zar(?)bam; the fifth belongs to Asur-imesi and Asur-rabu. After 4 years he shall pay 8 manehs of silver. Karmadu (is) *limmu*. Sagati-sudua has taken it, namely the silver; for his . . . . days Tarku-zar(?)ba shall have full possession<sup>8</sup> of the whole, and Salsu(?)-tida shall deliver to him the whole of it entirely, and Eratim has taken the place<sup>9</sup> of Salsu(?)-tida who is absent.<sup>10</sup> Witnessed by Lalim and Kinanim.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirtu*, from *amâru*, "to be full."

<sup>2</sup> Literally "askers," *saelu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Yusasluas*.

<sup>4</sup> A tablet in my own collection.

<sup>5</sup> The determinative of a deity followed by the numeral 3. This god "Three" reminds us of the numeral "3" which occurs in the Hittite inscriptions apparently in the sense of "Hittite."

<sup>6</sup> *Isdu*.

<sup>7</sup> The name Tarku is preceded by the determinative of divinity.

<sup>8</sup> *Igasudu*.

<sup>9</sup> *Abit*, literally "declaration."

<sup>10</sup> *Rukum*.

# THE KINGS OF EGYPT

BY THE EDITOR

According to MANETHO (as quoted by JULIUS AFRICANUS).  
 (The excerpts of Africanus are known only from George the  
 Synkellos and Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 19, 20.)

## DYNASTY I.—Thinites ; 8 kings

	Regnal Years.
1. Mênês . . . . .	62
2. Athôthis his son . . . . .	57
3. Kenkenês his son . . . . .	31
4. Ouenephês his son . . . . .	23
5. Ousaphaidos his son (Ousaphaês, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	20
6. Miebidos his son (Niebaes, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	26
7. Semempshês his son . . . . .	18
8. Biênakhês his son (Oubienthês or Vibesthês, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	26
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	253
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	252)
(Really . . . . .)	263)

## DYNASTY II.—Thinites ; 9 kings

1. Boêthos (Bôkhos, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	38
2. Kaïkchos (Khôos or Kekhous, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	39
3. Binôthis (Biophis, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	47
4. Tlas (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	17
5. Sethenês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	41
6. Khairês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	17
7. Nepherkherês (the 7th successor of Biophis, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	25
8. Sesôkhris . . . . .	48
9. Khenerês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	30
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	302
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	297)



## DYNASTY III.—Memphites ; 9 kings

	Regnal Years.
1. Nekherophês (Nekherôkhis, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	28
2. Tosorthos (Sethorthos, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	29
3. Tyreis (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	7
4. Mesôkhris (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	17
5. Sôuphis (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	16
6. Tosertasis (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	19
7. Akhês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	42
8. Sephouris (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	30
9. Kerpherês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	26
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	214
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	197)

DYNASTY IV.—Memphites ; 8 kings (*Eus.* 19)

1. Sôris (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	29
2. Souphis I. (3rd king of the Dynasty, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	63
3. Souphis II. (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	66
4. Menkherês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	63
5. Ratoisês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	25
6. Bikherês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	22
7. Seberkherês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	7
8. Thamphthis (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	9
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	277
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	448)
(Really . . . . .)	284)

## DYNASTY V.—Elephantines ; 9 kings

(*Eus.* : 31 kings, including Othios the first, and Phiops ; the others unnamed.)

1. Ouserkherês . . . . .	28
2. Sephrês . . . . .	13
3. Nepherkherês . . . . .	20
4. Sisirês . . . . .	7
5. Kherês . . . . .	20
6. Rathourês . . . . .	44

	Regnal Years.
7. Menkherês . . . . .	9
8. Tankherês . . . . .	44
9. Ounos or Obnos . . . . .	33
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	248
(Really . . . . .)	218)

## DYNASTY VI.—Memphites ; 6 kings

(No number in *Eus.*)

1. Othoês . . . . .	30
2. Phios . . . . .	53
3. Methou-Souphis . . . . .	7
4. Phiôps (lived 100 years) . . . . .	94
5. Menthe-Souphis . . . . .	1
6. Nitôkris . . . . .	12
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	203
(So <i>Eus.</i> ; really . . . . .)	197)

## DYNASTY VII.—70 Memphites for 70 days

(*Eus.* : 5 kings for 75 days, or years according to the Armenian Version.)

## DYNASTY VIII.—27 Memphites for 146 years

(*Eus.* : 5 kings for 106 years, or 9 kings according to the Armenian Version.)

## DYNASTY IX.—19 Herakleopolites for 409 years

(*Eus.* : 4 kings for 100 years.)

1. Akhthoês . . . . .	?
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## DYNASTY X.—19 Herakleopolites for 185 years

DYNASTY XI.—16 Thebans for 43 years, of whom Ammenemês reigned 16 years (after the 16 Thebans according to *Eus.*)

End of Manetho's first book, the kings of the first eleven Dynasties reigning altogether 2300 years and 70 days (really 2287 years and 70 days).

## DYNASTY XII.—Thebans ; 7 kings

	Regnal Years
1. Sesonkhis son of Ammenemês . . . . .	46
2. Ammanemês . . . . .	38
3. Sesôstris . . . . .	48
4. Lakharês (Lamaris or Lamparês, <i>Eus.</i> ) the builder of the Labyrinth . . . . .	8
5. Amerês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	8
6. Amenemês (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	8
7. Skemiophris his sister (unnamed by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	4
<i>(Eus. makes the total of the three last reigns 42 years.)</i>	
Sum . . . . .	160
<i>(Eus. . . . .</i>	<i>245)</i>

DYNASTY XIII.—Thebans ; 60 kings for 453 years.

DYNASTY XIV.—Xoites ; 76 kings for 134 years

*(Eus. : 484 years.)*

DYNASTY XV.—Shepherds ; 6 Phœnician strangers at  
Memphis for 284 years

*(Eus. : Thebans for 250 years.)*

1. Saitês . . . . .	19
2. Bnôn . . . . .	44
3. Pakhnan . . . . .	61
4. Staan . . . . .	50
5. Arklês . . . . .	49
6. Aphôbis . . . . .	61
Sum . . . . .	284

DYNASTY XVI.—Shepherds ; 32 kings for 582 years

*(Eus. : 5 Thebans for 190 years.)*

DYNASTY XVII.—Shepherds; 43 kings for 151 years; and  
43 Thebans for 151 years

(*Eus.*: Shepherds, Phœnician strangers, for 103 years.)

	Regnal Years.
1. Saitês . . . . .	19
2. Bnôn . . . . .	40
3. Arklês (Armenian Version) . . . . .	30
4. Aphôphis (Armenian Version) . . . . .	14
Sum . . . . .	103

DYNASTY XVIII.—Thebans; 16 kings

(*Eus.*: 14 kings.)

1. Amôsis . . . . .	25
2. Khebrôs (Khebrôn, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	13
3. Amenôphthis (Amenôphis for 21 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	24
4. Amensis (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	22
5. Misaphris (Miphris for 12 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	13
6. Misphragmouthôsis . . . . .	26
7. Touthmôsis . . . . .	9
8. Amenôphis (Memnôn) . . . . .	31
9. Hôros (Oros, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	37
10. Akherrês (Akhenkhersês for 16 or 12 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	32
11. Rathôs (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	6
12. Khebrês (Akherrês for 8 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	12
13. Akherrês (Kherrês for 15 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	12
14. Armessês (Armais Danaos, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	5
15. Ramessês (for 68 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	1
16. Amenôphis (for 40 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	19
Sum . . . . .	263
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	348)
(Really . . . . .)	287)

DYNASTY XIX.—Thebans; 7 kings

(*Eus.*: 5 kings.)

1. Sethôs (for 55 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	51
2. Rapsakês (Rampsês for 66 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	61

	Regnal Years.
3. Ammenephthês (Amenephthis for 8 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	20
4. Ramessês (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	60
5. Amenemês (for 26 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	5
6. Thouôris or Polybos . . . . .	7
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	209
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	194)
(Really . . . . .)	204)

## DYNASTY XX.—Thebans ; 12 kings for 135 years

(Eus. : 172 or 178 years.)

Among the 12 kings were :

Nekhepsos . . . . .	19
Psammouthis . . . . .	13
... . . . .	4
Kertos . . . . .	16
Rhampsis. . . . .	45
Amenses or Amenemês . . . . .	26
Okhuras . . . . .	14
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	137

## DYNASTY XXI.—Tanites ; 7 kings

1. Smendês . . . . .	26
2. Psousennes (for 41 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	46
3. Nephelkherês (Nepherkherês, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	4
4. Amenôphthis . . . . .	9
5. Osokhôr . . . . .	6
6. Psinakhês . . . . .	9
7. Psousennês (for 35 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	14
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	130
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	130)
(Really . . . . .)	114)

## DYNASTY XXII.—Bubastites ; 9 kings

(Eus. : 3 kings.)

1. Sesonkhis (Sesonkhôsis, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	21
2. Osorthôn . . . . .	15

	Regnal Years.
3. 4, 5, Unnamed (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	25
6. Takelôthis . . . . .	13
7. 8, 9. Unnamed (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	42
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	120
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	44)
(Really . . . . .)	116)

## DYNASTY XXIII.—Tanites ; 4 kings

(Eus. : 3 kings.)

1. Petoubatês (Petoubastês for 25 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	40
2. Osorkhô Hêraklês (Osorthôn for 9 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	8
3. Psammos . . . . .	10
4. Zêt (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	31
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	89
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	44)

## DYNASTY XXIV.—One Saïte

1. Bokkhôris the Wise (for 44 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	6
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## DYNASTY XXV.—Ethiopians ; 3 kings

1. Sabakôn (for 12 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	8
2. Sebikhôs his son (for 12 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	14
3. Tearkos (Tarakos for 20 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	18
	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	40
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	44)

## DYNASTY XXVI.—Saïtes ; 9 kings

(Eus. : 1. Ammeris, the Ethiopian, for 18 or 12 years.)

	Regnal Years.	Months.
1. Stephinatês (Stephinathis the 2nd king, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	7	0
2. Nekhepsôs (the 3rd, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	6	0
3. Nekhaô (for 6 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	8	0
4. Psammêtikhos (for 44 or 45 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	54	0

	Regnal Years.	Months.
5. Nekhaô . . . . .	6	0
6. Psammouthis (Psammouthis II. or Psammathikos for 17 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	6	0
7. Ouaphris (for 25 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	19	0
8. Amôsis (for 42 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	44	0
9. Psammekheritês (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	0	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	150	6
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	167	0)

## DYNASTY XXVII.—Persians ; 8 kings

1. Kambyses in the 5th year of his reign (for 3 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	6	0
2. Dareios son of Hystaspês . . . . .	36	0
3. Xerxês . . . . .	21	0
4. Artabanos (omitted by <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	0	7
5. Artaxerxês . . . . .	41	0
6. Xerxês II. . . . .	0	2
7. Sogdianos . . . . .	0	7
8. Dareios son of Xerxês . . . . .	19	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	124	4
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	120	4)

## DYNASTY XXVIII.—One Saite

1. Amyrtaios . . . . .	6	0
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## DYNASTY XXIX.—Mendesians ; 4 kings

(Eus. : 5 kings.)

1. Nephritês I. or Nekheritês . . . . .	6	0
2. Akhôris . . . . .	13	0
3. Psammouthês . . . . .	1	0
( <i>Eus.</i> : Mouthis inserted here . . . . .)	1	0)
4. Nephritês II. . . . .	0	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	20	4
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	21	4)

## DYNASTY XXX.—Sebennytes ; 3 kings

	Regnal Years.	Months.
1. Nektanebês I. (for 10 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	18	0
2. Teôs . . . . .	2	0
3. Nektanebês II. (for 8 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	18	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	38	0
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	20	0)

## DYNASTY XXXI.—Persians ; 3 kings

1. Okhos in his 20th year (for 6 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	2	0
2. Arsês (for 4 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	3	0
3. Darcios (for 6 years, <i>Eus.</i> ) . . . . .	4	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Sum . . . . .	9	0
( <i>Eus.</i> . . . . .)	16	0)

THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS  
(*cont. Ap. i. 14, 15, 27*).

## DYNASTY XV.—Hyksos or Shepherds

After the overthrow of Timaios, the last king of the 14th Dynasty, a period of anarchy.

	Regnal Years.	Months.
1. Salatis at Memphis . . . . .	13	0
2. Beon . . . . .	44	0
3. Apakhnas . . . . .	36	7
4. Apôphis . . . . .	61	0
5. Yanias (or Annas) . . . . .	50	1
6. Assis . . . . .	49	2

## DYNASTIES XVIII. and XIX.—Thebans

1. Tethmôsis . . . . .	25	4
2. Khebrôn his son . . . . .	13	0
3. Amenôphis I. . . . .	20	7



	Regnal Years.	Months.
4. Amessês his sister . . . . .	21	9
5. Mephrês . . . . .	12	9
6. Mephramouthôsis . . . . .	25	10
7. Thmôsis . . . . .	9	8
8. Amenôphis II. . . . .	30	10
9. Oros . . . . .	36	5
10. Akenkhrês his daughter . . . . .	12	1
11. Rathôtis her brother . . . . .	9	0
12. Akenkherês I. . . . .	12	5
13. Akenkherês II. . . . .	12	3
14. Armais . . . . .	4	1
15. Ramessês . . . . .	1	4
16. Armessês Miamoun . . . . .	60	2
17. Amenôphis III. . . . .	19	6
18. Sethôsis Aiguptos and Ramessês (or Hermeus)		
Danaos . . . . .	59	0
19. Rhampsês his son . . . . .	66	0
20. Amenôphis his son . . . . .	?	
21. Sethôs Ramesses his son . . . . .	?	

[The statements of Josephus are confused, and the order ought to be :  
15, 18, 19 (identical with 16), 20 (identical with 17).]

## ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

### DYNASTY I.

Abydos.	Saqqârah.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1. Meni	...	Meni	Menes
2. Teta	...	Atet	Athothis
3. Atota	...	...	Kenkenes
4. Ata	...	...	Ouenephes I.
5. Hesep (or Sapti)	...	...	Ousaphaidos
6. Merba	Merbaipen	...	Miebidos
7. Semen- Ptah (?)	...	...	Semempses
8. Kabeh	Kabelu (Behuka)	...	Bienekhes

<sup>1</sup> Kings whose place is uncertain are not mentioned in the following list.

## DYNASTY II.

	Abydos.	Saqqârah.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1.	Butau	...	...	Boethos
2.	Kakau	Kakau	...	Kaiekhos
3.	Bainuteru	Bainuter	...	Binôthris
4.	Utnas	Utnas	...	Tlas
5.	Send <sup>1</sup>	...	Send	Sethenes
6.	...	...	Aakar	Khaires
7.	Tata I.	...	...	...
8.	..	Nefer-ka-Ra	...	Nepherkheres
9.	...	Sekeri Nefer-ka	Nefer-ka Seker, [4?] 8 years 3 months 4 days	Sesokhris
10.	...	Tefa	Hu-tefa, [3?] 0 yrs. 8m. 4d.	Kheneres
11.	...	Bubui	Bubu, 27 years 2 months 1 day	...

## DYNASTY III.

1.	Neb-ka	...	Neb-ka, 19 years	...
2.	Ser-bes	Ser	Sera, 19 years 1 month	Nekherophes
3.	Tata II.	Ser-Teta	Ser-Teta	Tosorthros
4.	Set-es	...	...	Tureis
5.	...	Neb-ka-Ra	...	Mesokhris
6.	Nefer-ka-Ra	...	...	Sôuphis
7.	...	...	...	Tosertasis
8.	...	Huni	Hu[ni]	Akhes
9.	Snefru	...	Snefru	Sephouris
10.	...	...	...	Kerperes

## DYNASTY IV.

1.	...	...	...	Soris
2.	Khufuf	Khufu (Kheops)	...	Souphis I.
3.	Ra-tatf	Ra-tatf	...	...
4.	Khafra	Khafra (Khephren)	...	Souphis II.
5.	Men-ka-Ra	...	...	Menkheres
6.	...	...	...	Ratoises
7.	...	...	...	Bikheres
8.	Shepseskaf	...	...	Seberkheres
9.	...	...	...	Thamphthis

<sup>1</sup> The inscription of Sheri, the prophet of Send—the oldest dated monument we possess—makes Per-ab-sen the successor of Send.

## DYNASTY V.

Abydos.	Saqqârah.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1. Userkaf	...	...	Ouserkheres
2. Sahu-Ra	Sahu-Ra	...	Sephres
3. Keka	...	...	...
4. Nefer-f-Ra	Nefer-ar-ka-Ra	...	Nepherkheres
5. ...	Shepses-ka-Ra	...	Sisires
6. ...	Kha-nefer-Ra	...	Kheres
7. Ra - n - user (An)	...	... 11 years	Rathoures
8. Men-kau-IIor	Men-ka-IIor	Men-ka - IIor, 8 years	Menkheres
9. Tat-ka-Ra	Tat-ka-Ra	Tat, 28 years	Tankheres
10. Unas	Unas	Unas, 30 years	Ounos

## DYNASTY VI.

1. Teta	Teta	... 6 years 21 days	Othoes
2. User-ka-Ra	...	...	...
3. Meri-Ra (Pepi I.)	Pepi (Meri-Ra)	... 20 years	Phios
4. Mer-en-Ra (Sokar-m-saf I.)	...	... 4 years	Methousou- phis
5. Nefer-ka-Ra (Pepi II.)	...	... 9 (4) years	Phiops
6. (Mer - en - Ra Sokar - m - saf II.)	...	Mer-en-Ra, 1 year 1 month	Menthe - Sou- phis
7. ...	...	...	Nitokris

1. Nit-aker (a queen)
2. Nefer-ka, 2 yrs.  
1 m. 1 day
3. Nefrus, 4 yrs. 2 m.  
1 day
4. Ab-en-Ra I., 2 yrs.  
1 m. 1 day
5. ...
6. Ab-en-Ra II.
7. Hanti
8. Pest-sat-en- Sopl
9. Paitasu
10. Serhlinib (accord-  
ing to Lauth)

## DYNASTIES VII., VIII., IX., X.

Abydos.	Turin Papyrus.
1. Mer-em-Ra Zaf-em-Saf	... 6 years
2. Nuter-ka-Ra	...
3. Men-ka-Ra	...
4. Nefer-ka-Ra	Nefer-ka-Ra
5. ...	Khrati
6. ...	Se . . .
7. ...	...
8. ...	Ur . . .
9. ...	Set . . .
10. ...	Ha . . .
11. ...	...
12. [Nefer-ka-Ra ?]	[Nefer-ka ?-]Ra
13. Nefer-ka-Ra Nebi	[Nefer-ka ?-]Ra
14. Tat-ka-Ra Shema	[Tat-ka ?-]Ra
15. Nefer-ka-Ra Khnotu	[Nefer-ka ?-]Ra
16. Men-en-Hor	( <i>And 3 others destroyed.</i> <sup>1</sup> )
17. Snefer-ka	(Sum of years of the 10th
18. Ra-n-ka	Dynasty : 355 years 10 days)
19. Nefer-ka-Ra Terel	
20. Nefer-ka-Hor	
21. Nefer-ka-Ra Pepi-seneb	
22. Snefer-ka-Ra Annu	
23. [Nefer-]kau-Ra I.	
24. Nefer-kau-Ra II.	
25. Nefer-kau-Hor	
26. Nefer-ar-ka-Ra	

## DYNASTY XI.—According to LIEBLEIN and PETRIE

Karnak.	Other Monuments.
	User-n-Ra
	Neb-nem-Ra
	Anâ
Antef I.	Seshes-Hor-ap-mâa-Ra Antuf Aa
Mentu-hetep I.	{ Neb-hetep Mentu-hetep I.
	{ Queen Khnum-nefer-het Mentu-hetep I.

<sup>1</sup> An inscription I have discovered at Sehêl shows that one of these was Nefer-hepu-Ra. Mr. Griffith has made it clear that Ka-meri-Ra, mentioned in a tomb at Assiout, was a king of the 10th Dynasty.

Karnak.	Other Monuments.
Antef II.	Uah Ankh [Ter?]-seshes-ap-mâa-Ra Antef Aa (his son)
Antef III.	Seshes-herher-mâa-Ra Antef (brother) Nuter-nefer Neb-taui-Ra Mentu-hetep II.
Antef IV.	Nub-kheper-Ra Antauf (more than 50 years)
Ra-neb	{ Neb-kher-Ra Mentu-hetep III. (more than 46 years) Queen Aah
S-ankh-ka-Ra	Antef V. (son) S-ankh-ka-Ra <sup>1</sup>

## DYNASTY XII.

Monuments.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1. Amen-em-hat I. alone (20 years) With Usertesen I. (10 years)	S-hetep-ab-Ra	Ammenemes
2. Usertesen I. Kheper-ka-Ra alone (32 years) With Amen-em-hat (3 years)	... 48 years	Sesonkhosis
3. Amen-em-hat II. Nub-Kau-Ra alone (29 years) With Usertesen II. (6 years)	...	Ammanemes
4. Usertesen II. Kha-kheper-Ra (13 years)	... 19 years	Sesostris
5. Usertesen III. Kha-kau-Ra (26 years)	... 3 years	Lakhares
6. Amen-em-hat III. Ra-n-Mat (42 years)	...	Ammeres
7. Amen-em-hat IV. Ma-khru-Ra	Ma-khru-Ra, 9 years 3 months 17 days	Ammenemes
8. Sebek-nefru-Ra (a queen)	Sebek-nefru-Ra, 3 years 10 months 24 days (Sum of years of 12th Dynasty: 213 years 1 month 17 days.)	Skemiophris

<sup>1</sup> The Turin Papyrus gives the last four reigns of the Dynasty as follows:—

. . . 9 years  
. . . 8 years  
Neb-khru-Ra, 51 years  
User-Ra, 12 years

(Sum of years of 11th Dynasty: 243 years.)

## DYNASTY XIII.—According to the TURIN PAPYRUS (Brugsch)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Sebek-hetep I. Ra-khu-taui (son of Sebek-nefru-Ra), 1 year 3 months 24 days | 33. Mer-sekhem-Ra Anran, 3 years 1 month     |
| 2. Sekhem-ka-Ra, 6 years   | 34. Sut-ka-Ra Ura, 5 years . . months 8 days |
| 3. Ra Amen-em-hat I.   | 35. Anemen . . ro                            |
| 4. S-hetep-ab-Ra I.  | 36-46. Destroyed                             |
| 5. Aufni, 2 years  | 47. Mer-kheper-Ra                            |
| 6. S-ankh-ab-Ra, 1 year  | 48. Mer-ka-[Ra]                              |
| 7. S-men-ka-Ra   | 49-53. Destroyed                             |
| 8. S-hetep-ab-Ra II.   | 54. . . . mes                                |
| 9. . . . ka-Ra   | 55. Ra . . . mât Aba                         |
| 10, 11. Destroyed  | 56. . . . Uben-Ra I.                         |
| 12. Netem-ab-Ra  | 57-60. Destroyed                             |
| 13. Ra Sebek-hetep II.   | 61. Nahasi-[Ra]                              |
| 14. Ran-[sen]Jeb   | 62. Kha-khru-Ra                              |
| 15. Autu-ab-Ra I.  | 63. Neb-f-autu-Ra, 2 years 5 months 15 days  |
| 16. Setef . . . Ra   | 64. S-heb-Ra, 3 years                        |
| 17. Ra Sekhem-khu-taui (Sebek-hetep III.)                                      | 65. Mer-tefa-Ra, 3 years                     |
| 18. Ra-user . .  | 66. Sut-ka-Ra                                |
| 19. S-menkh-ka-Ra Mermesha   | 67. Neb-tefa-Ra                              |
| 20. . . ka-Ra  | 68. Uben-Ra II.                              |
| 21. . . user-ser   | 69, 70. Destroyed                            |
| 22. Ra Sekhem-[khu-tani] (Sebek-hetep IV.)                                     | 71. . . . tefa-Ra                            |
| 23. Kha-seshesh-Ra Nefer-hetep son of Ha-ankh-f                                | 72. . . . Uben-Ra III.                       |
| 24. Ra-si-IIathor  | 73. Autu-ab-Ra II.                           |
| 25. Kha-nefer-Ra (Sebek-hetep V.)  | 74. Har-ab-Ra                                |
| 26. (? Kha-ka-Ra)  | 75. Neb-sen-Ra                               |
| 27. Kha-ankh-Ra (Sebek-hetep VI.)  | 76-79. Destroyed                             |
| 28. Kha-hetep-Ra (Sebek-hetep VII.), 4 years 8 months 29 days                  | 80. S-kheper-n-Ra                            |
| 29. Uab-Ra Aa-ab, 10 years 8 months 28 days                                    | 81. Tat-khru-Ra                              |
| 30. Mer-nefer-Ra Ai, 23 years 8 months 18 days                                 | 82. S-ankh-[ka-]Ra                           |
| 31. Mer-hetep-Ra, 2 years 2 months 9 days                                      | 83. Nefer-tum-Ra                             |
| 32. S-ankh-nef-Ra Utu, 3 years 2 months  | 84. Sekhem . . . Ra                          |
|  | 85. Ka . . . Ra                              |
|  | 86. Nefer-ab-Ra                              |
|  | 87. Ra-a . . .                               |
|  | 88. Ra-kha . . . , 2 years                   |
|  | 89. Nut-ka-Ra, 2 years                       |
|  | 90. S-men . . . Ra                           |
|  | 91-III. Destroyed                            |

- |                         |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 112. Ra-sekhem . . .    | 116. Ra-neb-ari      |
| 113. Ra-sekhem . . .    | 117. Ra-neb-aten     |
| 114. Ra-sekhem-us . . . | 118. Ra-s-ment . . . |
| 115. Ra-sesen . . .     | 119. Ra-user-aten    |
|                         | 120. Ka-sekhem . . . |

*From 30 to 40 more names are destroyed.*

[DYNASTY XIII.—According to the TABLET of KARNAK

- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. . . . ka           | 6. Kha-seshesh-Ra |
| 2. Sut-n-Ra           | 7. Kha-nefer-Ra   |
| 3. S-ankh-ab-Ra       | 8. Kha-ka-Ra      |
| 4. Ra-sekhem-khu-taui | 9. Kha-ankh-Ra    |
| 5. Ra-sekhem-sut-taui | 10. Kha-hetep-Ra] |

DYNASTY XIV.—According to the TURIN PAPYRUS

- |                    |                           |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. . . .           | 10. Hor . . .             |
| 2. Ab-nu           | 11. . . . ka              |
| 3. Setep-n-mau     | 12. . . .                 |
| 4. Pan-n-set-setep | 13. . . . Iapi . . .      |
| 5. Pah-as(?)       | 14. . . . ka-Mentu(?)     |
| 6. Ser-hem-t       | 15. . . . ka-beb-nu . . . |
| 7. Af . . .        | 16. . . ., 3 years        |
| 8. Seti . . .      | 17. . . . kheti           |
| 9. Nun . . .       | 18. . . . n-neb-erget     |

*The remaining names are destroyed.*

DYNASTIES XV. and XVI.

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. (Set) Shalati (Salatis) | Khaian User-nub-Ra (Yanias?)                                       |
| 2. Bnan (Bnon)             | Apepi I. Ra-aa-user (geometrical papyrus written in his 33rd year) |
|                            | Apepi II. Ra-aa-ab-taui  |

DYNASTY XVII.

- Skenen-Ra Taa I. (contemporary with Apepi II.)  
 Skenen-Ra Taa II. Aa  
 Skenen-Ra Taa III. Ken  
 Uat-kheper-Ra Kames and his wife Aah-hetep

## DYNASTY XVIII.

	Manetho.
1. Neb-pehuti-Ra Aahmes (more than 22 years) and wife Nefert-ari-Aahmes	Amosis
2. Ser-ka-Ra Amen-hetep I. (20 years 7 months); his mother at first regent	Amenophis I.
3. Aa-kheper-ka-Ra Tehuti-mes I. and wife Aahmes Meri-Amen	...
4. Aa-kheper-n-Ra Tehuti-mes II. (more than 9 years) and wife (sister) Hashepsu Mâ-ka-Ra	...
5. Khnum Amen Hashepsu Mâ-ka-Ra, queen, 16 years	Amensis
6. Ra-men-kheper Tehuti-mes III., 57 years 11 months 1 day (B.C. 1503, March 20th-1449, Feb. 14th)	Misaphris
7. Aa-khepru-Ra Amen-hetep II.	Misphragmuthosis
8. Men-khepru-Ra Tehuti-mes IV. and wife Mut-em-ua	Touthmosis
9. Neb-mâ-Ra Amen-hetep III. (more than 35 years) and wife Teie	Amenophis II.
10. Nefer-khepru-Ra Amen-hetep IV. Khu-n-Aten <sup>1</sup> (more than 12 years), and wife Nefri-Thi	Horos
11. Sa'a-nekht and wife Meri-Aten	Akherres
12. Tut-ankh-Amen Khepru-neb-Ra and wife Ankh-nes-Amen	Rathotis
13. Aten-Ra-nefer-nefru-mer-Aten	?
14. Ai Kheper-khepru-ar-mâ-Ra and wife Thi (probably reigned only south of Girgeh)	?
15. Hor-em-hib Mi-Amen Ser-khepru-Ra (more than 3 years)	Armais

## DYNASTY XIX.

1. Men-pehuti-Ra Ramessu I. (more than 2 years)	Ramesses
2. Mâ-men-Ra Seti I. Mer-n-Ptah I. and wife Tua	Sethos
3. User-mâ-Ra Setep-n-Ra Ramessu II. Mi-Amen (B.C. 1348-1281 <sup>2</sup> )	Rampses
4. Mer-n-Ptah II. Hetep-hi-ma Ba-n-Ra Mi-Amen	Ammenephtes
5. User-khepru-Ra Seti II. Mer-n-Ptah III.	Sethos Ramesses
6. Amen-mesu Hik-An Mer-kha-Ra Setep-n-Ra	Amenemes
7. Khu-n-Ra Setep-n-Ra Mer-n-Ptah IV. Si-Pthah and wife Ta-user	Thuoris

<sup>1</sup> Called Khuri(ya) in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters. Hence the Horos of Manetho.

<sup>2</sup> The date has been fixed astronomically by Dr. Mahler.



## DYNASTY XX.

1. Set-nekht Merer Mi-Amen (recovered the kingdom from the Phœnician Arisu)
2. Ramessu III. Hik-An (more than 32 years)
3. Ramessu IV. Hik-Mâ Mi-Amen
4. Ramessu V. Amen-hi-khepesh-f Mi-Amen
- { 5. Ramessu Meri-Tum (in Northern Egypt)
- { 5. Ramessu VI. Neb-mâ-Ra Mi-Amen Amen-hi-khepesh-f
6. Ramessu VII. At-Amen User-mâ-Ra Mi-Amen
7. Ramessu VIII. Set-hi-khepesh-f Mi-Amen User-mâ-Ra Khu-n-Amen
8. Ramessu IX. Si-Pthah Se-kha-n-Ra Mi-Amen
9. Ramessu X. Nefer-ka-Ra Mi-Amen Setep-n-Ra (more than 10 years)
10. Ramessu XI. User-mâ-Ra Mi-Amen Setep-n-Ra
11. Ramessu XII. Men-mâ-Ra Mi-Amun Setep-n-Pthah Khamus (more than 27 years)
12. Ramessu XIII. Amen-hi-khepesh-f Kheper-mâ-Ra Setep-n-Ra

## DYNASTY XXI.—Illegitimate

1. Hir-Ior Si-Amen, High-priest of Amen at Thebes, and wife Notem-Mut
2. Piankhi, High-priest, and wife Tent-Amen
3. Pinetem I., High-priest, and wife Hontau
4. Pinetem II., King, and wife Mâ-ka-Ra
5. Men-kheper-Ra and wife Isis-em-Kheb
6. Pinetem III. (his son)

## DYNASTY XXI.—Legitimate

- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Nes-Bindidi Mi-Amen <sup>1</sup>                 | Manetho.              |
| 2. P-seb-kha-n I. Mi-Amen Aa-kheper-Ra Setep-n-Amen | Smendes<br>Psousennes |
| 3. [Nefer-ka-Ra]                                    | Nephepkheres          |
| 4. [Amen-apt ?]                                     | Amenophthis           |
| 5. ...  | Osokhor               |
| 6. Pinetem  | Psinakhes             |
| 7. Pi-seb-kha-n II. Mi-Amen                         | Psousennes            |

<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, New Series, v. pp. 17-24.

## DYNASTY XXII.

	Manetho.
1. Shashank I. Mi-Amen Hat-kheper-Ra Setep-n-Ra (more than 21 years)	Sesonkhis
2. Usarkon I. Mi-Amen Sekhem-kheper-Ra (married daughter of Pi-seb-kha-n)	Osorthon
3. Takelet I. Mi-Amen Si-Ast Hat-Ra Setep-n-Amen	...
4. Usarkon II. Mi-Amen Si-Bast User-mâ-Ra (more than 23 years)	...
5. Shashank II. Mi-Amen Sekhem-kheper-Ra	...
6. Takelet II. Mi-Amen Si-Ast Hat-kheper-Ra (more than 15 years)	Takelothis
7. Shashank III. Mi-Amen Si-Bast User-mâ-Ra (52 years)	...
8. Pimai Mi-Amen User-mâ-Ra Setep-n-Amen	...
9. Shashank IV. Aa-kheper-Ra (more than 37 years)	...

## DYNASTY XXIII.

1. Se-her-ab-Ra Petu-si-Bast	Petoubastes
2. Usarkon III. Mi-Amen Aa-kheper-Ra Setep-n- Amen	Osorkho
3. P-si-Mut User-Ra Setep-n-Ptah	Psammos
4. ...	Zet

## INTERREGNUM

Egypt divided between several princes, including Tefnekht (Tnephakhtos), father of Bak-n-ran-f. It is overrun by Piankhi the Ethiopian, while Usarkon III. reigns at Bubastis. The son and successor of Piankhi is Mi-Amen-Nut.

## DYNASTY XXIV.

	Manetho.
Bak-n-ran-f Uah-ka-Ra (more than 6 years)	Bokkhoris

## DYNASTY XXV.

1. Shabaka Nefer-ka-Ra, son of Kashet, defeated by Sargon B.C. 720 (more than 12 years)	Sabakon
2. Shabataka Tat-ka-Ra	Sebikhos
3. Taharka Nefer-tum-khu-Ra (Tirhakah), 26 years	Tearkos

## INTERREGNUM

The Assyrian conquest and division of Egypt into 20 satrapies B.C. 672-660. Taharka and his successor Rud-Amen (*Assyrian* Urdamanu) make vain efforts to recover it. In Manetho the period is represented by Stephinates (Setep-n-Nit), Nekhepsos and Nekhao, the latter of whom is called in the Assyrian inscriptions Niku, the father of Psammetikhos, and vassal-king of Memphis and Sais.

## DYNASTY XXVI.

	Manetho.
1. Psamtik I. Uah-ab-Ra and wife Mehet-Usekh, B.C. 664-610	Psammetikhos
2. Nekau Nem-ab-Ra and wife Mi-Mut Nit-aker, B.C. 610-594	Nekhao
3. Psamtik II. Nefer-ab-Ra and wife Nit-aker, B.C. 594-589	Psammouthis
4. Uah-ab-Ra Haa-ab-Ra and wife Aah-hetep, B.C. 589-570	Ouaphris
5. Aah-mes Si-Nit Khnum-ab-Ra and wife Thent- kheta, B.C. 570-526	Amosis
6. Psamtik III. Ankh-ka-n-Ra, B.C. 526-525	Psammekherites

## DYNASTY XXVII.

1. Kambathet Sem-taui Mestu-Ra, B.C. 525-519	Kambyses
2. Ntariush I. Settu-Ra, B.C. 521-485	Dareios I.
3. Khabbash Senen Tanen Setep-n-Ptah, B.C. 485	...
4. Khsherish, B.C. 484	Xerxes I.
5. ...	Artabanos
6. Artakhsharsha, B.C. 465-425	Artaxerxes
7. ...	Xerxes II.
8. ...	Sogdianos
9. Ntariush Mi-Amen-Ra	Dareios II.

## DYNASTY XXVIII.

Amen-ar-t-rut <sup>1</sup> (more than 6 years), B.C. 415	Amyrtaios
--	-----------

<sup>1</sup> So Wiedemann.

## DYNASTY XXIX.

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Nef-a-rut I. Ba-n-Ra Mi-nuteru (more than 4 years) | Nepherites I.  |
| 2. Hakori Ra-Khnum-mâ Setep-n-Khnum, 13 years         | Akhoris        |
| 3. P-si-Mut Usir-Ptah-setep-n-Ra, 1 year              | Psammouthes    |
| 4. Hor-neb-kha, 1 year                                | Mouthes        |
| 5. Nef-a-rut II., 1 year                              | Nepherites II. |

## DYNASTY XXX.

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Nekht-Hor-hib Ra-snetem-ab Setep-n-Anher, son<br>of Nef-a-rut I., 9 years | Nektanebes I.  |
| 2. Tihu, 1 year  | Teos           |
| 3. Nekht-neb-f Ra-kheper-ka 18 years   | Nektanebes II. |

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*c.* = country ; *d.* = deity ; *m.* = man ; *mt.* = mountain ; *r.* = river ; *t.* = town ;  
*te.* = temple ; *w.* = woman.

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